

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/4305>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

'Verry Matrymony'

**Representations of the Virgin Mary and her Mother, Saint
Anne,
as wives in medieval England, 1200 - 1540**

**A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Ph.D**

**The University of Warwick
The Department of English and Comparative Literatures**

by

Susan Anne Niebrzydowski

July 1998

Summary of Thesis

This interdisciplinary study of devotional literature, drama and the visual arts examines the representation of Mary and her mother, Saint Anne, as wives in England between 1200 and 1540, and women's responses to these images. The thesis addresses a lacuna in modern Marian and Anne scholarship which has, hitherto, paid little attention to the fact of both saints' representation as *wives* in this period, and reclaims the meaning, function and reception of these forgotten images. The thesis commences with a synopsis of Marian and Anne devotion up until the central Middle Ages in order that English awareness of Mary and Anne as wives might be contextualised. Chapter Two presents evidence of this awareness; a chronological catalogue of medieval English representations of Mary and Anne as wives, in a variety of media. Chapter Three presents an historical account of the social context of medieval marriage; it examines the legal, social and canonical definition of marriage and demonstrates how this instruction reached the laity for whom it was intended. Chapter Four articulates how the representations of Mary and Anne as wives fitted into both contemporary marital discourse and its social practice. Chapter Five returns to the representations and interrogates their meaning and function, using medieval *ars memorativa* as the critical tool with which to do so, and demonstrates how real women responded to these images. The thesis concludes that Mary and Anne's wifely status was invoked by some theologians, canon lawyers and clerics to serve as an *aide mémoire* and *marital exemplar* : of the Church's ideal wedding ceremony and of desired wifely behaviour(s) but that women's responses to these representations were less and other than that which their producers might have intended : generally they were met with *silence*.

Abbreviations

<i>Bodleian Meditationes</i>	<i>Meditacione de vita et passione et resurrectione et ascensione Ihesu Christi</i> . Oxford, Bodleian MS 578, fols 1 - 10r.
<i>CM</i>	SEL poem <i>Concepcio Marie</i> . <i>Middle English Literature (Mittelenglische Sprach-und Literaturproben)</i> eds., A. Brandl and O. Zippel (second edition, New York : Chelsea Publishing Co., 1947), pp. 92 - 100.
<i>Cursor</i>	<i>Cursor Mundi</i> . <i>Cursor Mundi. (The cursor of the World). A Northumbrian poem of the fifteenth century in four versions</i> , ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 57, 99, 101 (volume I) and 59, 62 (volume 2) (London : Oxford University Press, 1874 - 93).
<i>EN</i>	SEL poem <i>The Expanded Nativity</i> . <i>Altenglische Legenden Neue Folge</i> , ed., Carl Horstmann (Heilbronn : Henniger, 1881) under the title of 'Geburt Jesu,' pp. 81 - 109.
<i>HIDG</i>	<i>Historiae Intactae Dei Genetricis</i> by Hrotsvith(a) of Gandersheim (935-999). PL 120, 185 - 216.
<i>L of A</i>	<i>Life of Anne (Types A, B, and C)</i> . R. E. Parker, <i>The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne</i> , EETS OS 174 (London : Oxford University Press, 1928).
<i>L of A (Reynes)</i>	<i>Life of St. Anne</i> . Cameron Louis, ed., <i>The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle. An Edition of Tanner MS 407</i> , Garland Medieval Texts, No. 1 (New York and London : Garland Publishing, 1980), pp. 414 - 427.
<i>La Conception</i>	<i>La Conception Nostre Dame</i> by Wace. MM. G. Mancel and G. S. Trebutien, eds., <i>L'Établissement de la Fête de la Conception Notre Dame dire La Fête aux Normands par Wace, Trouvère Anglo-Normand du XII^e siècle</i> (Caen : Publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1842).
<i>LCBMVVEV</i>	<i>Libellus de Conceptione Beate Marie Virginis et Vita Ejus Versificatus</i> . London, British Library Manuscript Additional 20,009.
<i>LOL</i>	<i>Life of Our Lady</i> by John Lydgate. <i>A critical edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady</i> , eds., J. A. Lauritis et al., Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 2 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961).

LTVMTC	<i>The Life of the Virgin Mary and The Christ.</i> Manchester, Chetham Library, Chetham MS 27911 (Mun. A. 2. 166), ff. 1 - 85, Dublin, Trinity College Library MS D. 4. 3 (423), fols.245r-292v and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 2. 18.
Mirror	<i>The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ</i> , by Nicholas Love. <i>Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ. A critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686</i> , ed. Michael Sargent, Garland Medieval Texts, number 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992).
MVC	<i>Meditationes Vitae Christi.</i> A. C. Peltier, ed., <i>S.R.E. Cardinalis Bonaventura Opera Omnia</i> , volume XII (Paris:[n.p.], 1868).
NMC	<i>South English Nativity of Mary and Christ.</i> O. S. Pickering, ed., <i>The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ edited from MS BM Stowe 949</i> , Middle English Texts I (Heidelberg : Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, 1975).
NVCBMVPAS	<i>Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beate Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris.</i> O. Schade, ed., <i>Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beatae Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris</i> (Königsberg : Regimonti. Typis Academicis Dalkowskianis, 1870).
PG	<i>Patrologiae Graeca.</i> J. P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus : series graeca</i> , 162 volumes (Paris : J. P. Migne, 1857 - 66)
PL	<i>Patrologiae Latina.</i> J. P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus : series latina</i> , 221 volumes (Paris : J. P. Migne, 1844 - 66)
SHS	<i>Speculum Humanae Salvationis.</i> J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, eds., <i>Speculum Humanae Salvationis : texte critique : traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448); les sources et l' influence iconographique principalement sur l' art alsacien du XIV^e siècle : avec la reproduction, en 140 planches, du Manuscrit de Sèlestat, de la série complète des vitraux de Mulhouse, de vitraux de Colmar, de Wissenbourg, etc. 2 Volumes</i> (Mulhouse and Leipzig, 1905, 1907 [Staatsbibliothek München clm 146]).
TCM	<i>SEL</i> poem <i>The Trinity Conception of Mary.</i> Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 3 23 (James 605).

Tretys

Tretys of Oure Ladye howe sche was wedded. Karl Reichl, 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben aus der Hs. Add. 4122 der University Library in Cambridge,' *Anglia*, 95 (1977), 313 - 378.

VBVMSR

and

the English copy

VBVMSR 

Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica. A. Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXXX (Tübingen : Bibliothek de Literarischen Vereins, 1888). An English copy in London, British Library MS Additional 29, 434.

VL

SEL poem *The Vernon Life of Mary.* Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Vernon (English Poetry a. 1., Bodl. Lib., S.C. 3938), ff. 6v - 9r.

VSM

and its Middle English translation

VSM (ME)

Vita Sancte Maria by Thomas of Hales. *The Lyf of Oure Lady: The Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie ed. from MS St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, E. I.I* , ed., S. M. Horrall (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1985).

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	1
Introduction	4
Chapter One : 'Alone of all her Sex' ; English Devotion to Mary and her mother, Saint Anne, 1200 - 1540 : its Origins and Character	15
Mary : virgin, virgin, virgin : some first to fifth century explorations	15
Marian devotion in the West (England up until the Norman Conquest) : Virgin, Virgin, Virgin	22
Post-Conquest Marian Devotion in England : Immaculately Conceived Virgin and Human Mother	27
Post-Conquest Development of Devotion to Saint Anne	32
Conclusions	33
Chapter Two : Medieval English Representations of the Holy Marriages	49
The Apocryphal Gospels : Sources of the narrative of Mary and Anne's marriages	50
Marian Apocrypha in England : Latin copies and Vernacular translations	53
Medieval Continental representations of Mary and Joseph's marriage and the marital history of Anne	55
Chronological Catalogue of visual and written representations of the Holy Marriages produced in England, 1200 - 1540	66
Conclusions	95
<i>Figure 1: The Betrothal Window, St. Mary's Parish Church, Fairford</i>	98
<i>Figure 2: The Wall Painting of Mary and Joseph's Marriage, Croughton</i>	99
<i>Figure 3 :The Whalley Abbey Orphrey</i>	100
<i>Figure 4 :Lydgate's Life of Our Lady in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 596, fol. 96</i>	101
Chapter Three : Marital theory and English practice in the Middle Ages	127

Section I

The origins of medieval marital theory : New Testament Kerygma and patristic legacy 127

The eleventh to the thirteenth century : the medieval contribution towards a teleology of Christian marriage 132

Section II

Channels through which medieval marital theory reached the laity: priests' manuals and cleric-produced manuals for the laity 147

'As Y can to teche the, my childe' : Marital instruction from parent to child 154

Sermons about Marriage 163

A Picture serves as Reading for the People : Church Art and Marital Instruction 171

Section III

Marital Practice in England 1200 - 1540 174

Medieval Marriage; Theory and Practice : A Summation 183

Chapter Four : 'Verry Matrymony': The Marriages of Mary and Anne : How they fit in with Medieval Social Practice 197

Mary and Joseph, Sex and the Scholiasts 197

'God wolde that she were espoused and wedded' : Evidence of medieval understanding that Mary and Joseph were married 203

Medieval understanding of the Motivation for Mary and Joseph's Marriage 206

More than a chaste marriage 212

Into þe tempyl a spowse to wedde: Mary and Joseph's Wedding Ceremony 215

Sent anne had a housbonde joachym was hys name 232

Conclusions 238

Chapter Five : The Representation of Mary and Anne as wives; Marital Exemplar in the Central Middle Ages 241

The Stimulation of Memory in the Central Middle Ages: *loci* and *imagines* 242

Representations of Mary and Anne's Wedding Ceremonies : their suitability as *aide mémoire* 246

'By þys ensauple mayst thou see' : Lessons to be Learned from Mary and Anne as marital exemplar 255

The Success of Mary and Anne as Marital Exemplar 278

Conclusions	295
Conclusions	303
Appendix 1	321
Appendix 2	326
Appendix 3	333
Appendix 4	344
Appendix 5	346
Appendix 6	347
Appendix 7	350
Bibliography	352

Introduction

A late fifteenth century stained glass window survives in the Lady Chapel of the parish church of St. Mary's, Fairford in Gloucestershire. It is known locally as the 'Betrothal of the Virgin' window. The window is constructed from four panels. Looking from left to right, the panels depict; the parents of Mary, Anne and Joachim, embracing outside of the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, Anne in childbed cradling Mary in her arms, Mary ascending the Temple steps and finally, a visibly pregnant Mary holding hands with Joseph. They are being married by a priest on whose hat is the star of David. Joseph appears, from the colour of his hair, to be an old man whilst Mary is portrayed as a young woman with a serene expression. They are surrounded by a crowd of male onlookers, some of whom are dressed as merchants. (see *figure 1*, p. 98.)

We are familiar, by now, with the fact that the Virgin Mary was a focus of clerical and lay piety in medieval England. Mary was written about and venerated in song, portrayed visually and prayed to, in a variety of guises: virginal Mother of God with Christ on her knee, Virgin Queen of Heaven, Intercessor for Souls, Mater Dolorosa at the foot of the Cross and the Pietà (in English, Our Lady of Pity, with the dead Christ laid across her lap). Bernard of Clairvaux transformed her into the object of a desire which conflated filial and erotic love. The Virgin Mary, and especially her *virginity*, is central to medieval theology and spirituality, and broods over secular arts, both in her own person and in a symbolic way.

An immense body of modern scholarship, of which the works of Hilda Graef, Marina Warner and Clarissa Atkinson¹ are perhaps most significant, has charted the development of the symbolism and spiritual significance of the Virgin Mary's representation in the central Middle Ages, and offers explanation of the cultural

phenomenon that is medieval Mariology. Their scholarship shows collectively, that there are many reasons why the Virgin is interesting and in their studies they give central place, as did the medieval piety which they address, to the Virgin as virgin and as virgin mother.

That which is conspicuous in its absence from the work of these scholars, however, is an exploration of Mary's representation as a wife and of her wedding ceremony: representations, such as that at Fairford as described above, which appear in the image-rich environment of England between the thirteenth century and that watershed of Marian devotion, the Reformation. Such images are to be located on church windows, walls and vestments. Sermons recount the fact of Mary and Joseph's marriage and suggest reasons for their union. Drama re-enacts the wedding and spiritual guides counsel their readers/listeners to replicate Mary and Joseph's example. So far, these images remain uncollated, their interconnections unexamined and their meaning and function in the central Middle Ages unexplored. The same is true also of the representation and discussion as a wife, of Mary's mother, Saint Anne, which also gained popularity in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the groundbreaking collection of essays which examines late medieval devotion to Saint Anne, edited by Ashley and Sheingorn,² the editors claim, quite correctly it seems to me, that Anne is a polysemic symbol (which is quite obviously true of her daughter also); but to date the corpus of English material portraying Anne as a wife remains neither collated nor discussed in detail.³

This lacuna in modern Marian scholarship may have occurred because of the relatively small corpus of material which represents Mary as a wife, in comparison with the vast body of material recording devotion to her in her other roles; the gap

in the study of Saint Anne may be explained by the comparative infancy of Anne research in medieval studies. Of greater concern is the possibility that past lack of interest in these saints' portrayal as wives may be symptomatic of the attitude of society, both at large and within the academy, towards wifedom : being a wife is both natural and unchanging, that is, a-historical and therefore worthy of neither comment nor exploration, even if the wife in question is the Virgin Mary.⁴ Be that as it may, the surviving representations evince that devotion to Mary and Anne as wives was yet another facet of medieval piety, that the medieval faithful understood Anne and Mary were married according to *medieval* marital mores and that many of these representations appeared in media which were responsible for instructing the laity in such matters. In this study I investigate the *meaning* and *function* of the representations of Mary and Anne as wives which appear in medieval English sermons, drama, art, stained glass, embroidery, Books of Hours and devotional literature, and present what I have discovered about their *reception*, in the hope that we, at the close of this millennium, may more fully understand one aspect of the spirituality of those near its beginning.

From the time of Mary's own life, marriage had been a frequently debated social phenomenon and attitudes towards Christian marriage did not remain constant and unchanging. Analysis of twelfth century canon law has revealed a shift in attitude towards matrimony from that expressed by the early Christians who were encouraged, although not compelled, to chose a life of virginity in preference to a physical union which anchored them securely to wordly matters; by the twelfth century virginity had become the preserve of a few who were segregated from society, either behind convent or cloister wall, or by virtue of their priestly status. Marriage was encouraged for the majority and rules were

created to govern how, why, when and between whom marriage could be contracted and for the management of legitimate copulation. At the heart of medieval marital canon law lay a desire to accommodate Mary and Joseph's union, not always easily, into the legal/spiritual framework which was to regulate the actual marriages of the faithful.⁵ All of the representations included in this study were created during a period when marriage preoccupied many theorists.

Devotion to Mary and her mother as wives is not unique to England, but a detailed examination of the phenomenon in its European context is beyond the scope of this research. I have consequently merely demonstrated that Mary and Anne were known to have been married women and focused on those European works which became influential in England. I hope that my exploration of the significance of this might provide data and suggest a methodology with which to compare and contrast the English experience with that in other areas of medieval Europe.⁶

In an effort to reclaim meaning from these extant yet hitherto forgotten images, I have studied both the medieval theology of and practical responses to Mary and Anne's representation as wives. I have attempted, as has Ellen. M. Ross in her recent study of images of the 'Suffering Jesus' in late medieval England, to reconstruct the "lived religion of the people."⁷ We have both looked in the same places in order to uncover hitherto unexamined devotions by,

approaching the [...] theme through sermons, drama, church decorations, hagiographic narratives and spiritual treatises [which call] attention to the resources which illuminate medieval practice and belief and contributes to our understanding of the intersections between medieval theology and medieval piety.⁸

My focus is on laywomen's responses to these images. Whilst I must admit to having been fired by the hope that I might, in some small way, extend the 'herstory' of medieval women which is currently being reconstructed and recorded

by academics from a variety of disciplines,⁹ the representations of Mary and Anne as wives themselves prompt one to examine their reception by women: a number of the artefacts included were either created for or commissioned by married women. Although we must distinguish between those artefacts designed for personal and private use and those for a public and communal act of devotion, that said, each artefact, by its very nature, *had the capacity* to reach a lay female or mixed audience. Not all women had access to *all* of the representations; those included in Book of Hours and those written works specifically commissioned, were destined for the wealthy; those which appeared in ecclesiastical embroidery, art and stained glass, hagiography, sermons and lay guides may have reached a wider audience. The artefacts were all destined to reach a lay audience which included women. Those which are written may have been read in private or read aloud to an audience.¹⁰

As I became involved with this study, it became obvious why people had not done it. In addition to the possibility of past scholars considering the topic unworthy of further investigation, it has been a frustrating study. Mary's wifely status was invoked by theologians and canon lawyers with unity of purpose but the reflection on this by female laity I discovered to be less and other than that which the theologians might have intended. So my study changed direction, and instead of examining the interchange between preaching and praxis, it became a study of the *failure* of preaching and of female *silence*, of how women's lives *are* knowable if one cares to look and of the disjunction between what men thought women needed to know and that which women *wanted* and *responded to*.

The resulting study is divided into five sections. In order to contextualise English awareness of Mary and Anne as wives and devotion to them in that role,

it has been necessary to carry out a complete survey of Marian and Anne devotion, in all its different facets. The first two chapters, therefore, consist mostly of data and are, to some extent, a *catalogue raisonnée* of Marian and Anne devotion. The opening chapter charts the development of Mariolatory from its inception up to and including the period covered by the study, focusing on devotion to Mary and Anne in England. The corpus of Marian material is vast: I have included only those aspects of her developing devotion which are relevant to an exploration of her representation as a wife. Chapter two has two functions: it demonstrates the knowledge and transmission of the apocryphal narrative of Mary's betrothal and marriage (which also contains the details of her mother's marriage) in England in the central Middle Ages and most especially catalogues the corpus of English representations of Mary and Anne as wives which I have located from this period, describing/transcribing them and where appropriate, translating them. My concern is not with the origins of these stories but in demonstrating the nuances in a narrative which *seems* familiar and unchanging but, in fact, changes in small but significant ways in the central Middle Ages.

Mary and Anne appear in these representations as *wives* and so chapter three presents an historical account of the social context of medieval marriage : its intent is to demonstrate that rules governed how, why and when couples could contract marriage, and to a lesser degree as it is not directly relevant to my topic, the management of legitimate copulation. The chapter examines the legal, social and canonical definition of 'verry matrimony,' and how this instruction reached the laity. It also provides evidence of marital practice, particularly that of women, gleaned from a variety of records; from church courts, manorial courts and personal testimony. The reader should now be conversant with the canon law and

doctrinal theory which *should have* governed medieval marriage and with the evidence of how men and women *actually did* marry in this period.

Chapter four examines in detail the medieval representations of Mary and Anne as wives and their wedding ceremonies, and articulates if and how they fit in with the contemporary discourses which framed matrimony and with social practice, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Chapter five locates these representations in the cultural discourses of the late Middle Ages ; it investigates what it was that the representers thought that they were doing and how these images were received in the culture for which they were designed. The relationship between creator, artefact and its reception is neither easy nor simple. Art historian Griselda Pollock has written about the complex nature of representation and concludes that,

Representation needs to be defined in several ways. As Representation the term stresses that images and texts are no mirrors of the world, merely reflecting their sources. Representation stresses something refashioned, coded in rhetorical, textual or pictorial terms, quite distinct from its social existence. Representation can also be understood as 'articulating' in a visible or socially palpable form social processes which determine the representation but then are actually affected and altered by the forms, practices and effects of representation. In the first sense representation of trees, persons, places is understood to be ordered according to the conventions and codes of practices of representation [...] In the second sense, which involves the first inevitably, representation articulates [...] social practices and forces which are not, like trees, there to be seen but which we theoretically know condition our existence. [...] [Representation] signifies something represented to, addressed to, a reader/viewer/consumer.¹¹

The significance of her definition of representation to this study is twofold. Pollock recognises that the act of representation is not innocent: it can contain something 'refashioned' or 'coded' within itself and this coded message may have a social / socially manipulative function. We may legitimately enquire what the artisans, largely male, of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who created representations of Mary and Anne as wives thought it was that they were doing. Whilst the individual and personal intentions of the artisans are now lost to

us, one can reconstruct the cultural climate in which these representations were fashioned and examine the artefacts against this. Chapter five examines the representational techniques used by the medieval authors/creators in light of medieval *ars memorativa* which governed representation and the construction of images. Any attempt to assess the reception of these images demands that we look and listen for women's words about their piety towards Mary and Anne, in this period. Pollock stresses that not only the creator but *also the receiver* is actively involved in the act of representation : there is always some choice in how an image is received. Pollock is most sensitive to the fact that an audience for any representation may comprise both men and women and that their responses may be different because they are gender/class-led. As a patriarchal society, we remain willing to assimilate and parallel the response of women (usually, and incorrectly, assumed an homogeneous group) with that of men to any given representation. Pollock warns that women receive representations differently from men, according to their gender and their class, and that they can be active in their reception, having a choice about how they will respond. In order to locate women's responses to the representations of Mary and Anne as wives, I include an examination of women's wills, literature, their own marital testimony and devotional practices. I recognise that these are largely the voices of the wealthy but have included the voices of women from lower social groups when I have been able to rediscover them. In all classes of women I have found some women's responses to these images to be different from those which may have been intended by the representations' creators.

In Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, the heroine Catherine Moreland found medieval history very tiresome because it consisted of,

The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars and in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all [...]

The following pages contain the words of men (including popes and kings) but most especially, the words and deeds of women. It tells of one battle within the greater war between the sexes, fought and won by women by using the weapon of silence. This aspect of medieval history and culture is anything but tiresome.

Introduction : notes

- ¹. The three works in question are : Hilda Graef, *Mary : A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, two volumes (New York : Sheed and Ward, 1963), Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex : The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London : Weidenfield and Nicholson Ltd., 1976, reprint Pan Books Ltd., 1985) and Clarissa Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation : Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1991). The Marian devotion of the Church Fathers has been examined by Dominicus Casagrande, *Enchiridion Marianum Biblicum Patristicum* (Rome, 1974) whilst early Marian devotion from its inception up to and including the twentieth century, has also been collated in encyclopaedic works: Donald Attwater, *A Dictionary of Mary* (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1957) and M. O' Carroll, *Theotokos : A Theological Encyclopaedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Wilmington, DE : Michael Glazier Inc., 1986). M. P. Carroll offers a psychological perspective on the rise of Marian devotion in the fifth century and on its twentieth century guises in *The Cult of the Virgin Mary. Psychological Origins* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1986). Mary Clayton analyses the Marian cult in England before the Conquest in *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo Saxon England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- ². Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn , eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols : Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens and London : The University of Georgia Press, 1990).
- ³. In Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, Ashley does discuss Anne's representation as a wife in her essay, ' Image and Ideology. Saint Anne in late medieval drama and narrative', 111-130, but this is confined to a discussion of the *N.Town* pageants, whilst Sheingorn considers Anne as wife when looking at Anne as a grandmother and genetrix of a dynasty in Europe, including England, in 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship : Gender and Family History', 169 - 198. Sheingorn's focus is not, however, Anne as a wife *per se*. Ton Brandenburg has examined medieval Dutch devotion to Saint Anne specifically as a wife in 'St. Anne and her Family. The veneration of St Anne in connection with concepts of marriage and the family in the early-modern period', in Lène Dresen-Coenders, ed., *Saints and she-devils: Images of women in the 15th and 16th centuries* (London : The Rubicon Press, 1987), 101 - 128 a translation of the original Dutch edition, *Tussen heks en heilige* (Nijmegen : SUN, 1985). He does not consider English devotion. His more recent work, 'Saint Anne : A Holy Grandmother and her Children' in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, ed., *Sanctity and Motherhood. Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, Garland Medieval Casebooks, volume 14 (New York and London : Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 31 - 68 moves away from Anne as wife to a consideration of her as a founder of a female genealogy of and dynasty for Christ.
- ⁴. One is struck by the lack of studies concerning wifhood and its historicity. There has been a flourish of books about medieval women's lives drawing details from a variety of sources, such as Emilie Amt, ed., *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe. A Sourcebook* (London : Routledge,

1993), Marty Williams and Anne Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal. Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton : Markus Weiner Publishers, 1994) and Helen Jewell, *Women in medieval England* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1996), in which being a wife features as one part of a greater schema outlining all facets of female experience. Marc Glasser has written of the rise in importance of married saints (both male and female) in 'Marriage in Medieval Hagiography', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Volume 4 (Old Series Volume XIV) (1981), 3 - 34. What is needed is a study devoted solely to the construction of wifhood and women's experiences and expectations of it, in the pre-modern period, which identifies the nature of wifhood as an historically bound status.

⁵. Early Christian attitudes towards marriage and its relatively low spiritual value in comparison with virginity, are explained by P. Brown in *The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1988). J. Brundage explores the change to a more positive attitude to marriage and sex, as charted by developments in canon law in *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1987) P. Schine Gold has demonstrated in great detail the role/influence of Mary and Joseph's marriage in the formation of marital canon law in, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth Century Ideology of Marriage', in V. L. Bullough and J. Brundage, eds., *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, N. Y. : Prometheus Books, 1982), 102 - 117.

⁶. Harriet Sonne has begun to explore the significance of Mary and Joseph's spiritual marriage in early thirteenth century Gotland (Scandinavia) and Spain, with her paper, 'Changing Perspectives of Mary and Joseph's Spiritual Union in Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Art,' Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1995 (unpublished paper). Sonne describes six, early thirteenth century Scandinavian fonts in which Mary and Joseph possibly exchange a ring whilst Mary is in bed after the birth of Christ. This, Sonne argues, is a symbol of their spiritual marriage and is very different from the representations included in this study. Sonne cites two Spanish examples, a missal illustration and the relief on a column head, in which Mary and Joseph exchange a pouch of money (which in Spain replaced an exchange of ring in marriage). Sonne argues that these also do not represent the medieval marriage ceremony but are symbolic of Mary and Joseph's celibate marriage. Further work is required to locate these images within the cultural mores which produced them, yet they do appear to indicate that attitude towards Mary and Joseph's marriage was not homogenous throughout Europe in the central Middle Ages.

⁷. Ellen M. Ross., *The Grief of God. Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 8.

⁸. Ross, *The Grief of God*, p. 8.

⁹. I stand with Judith Bennett in admitting that my interpretative work necessarily reflects my feminist politics, " [...] just as the interpretations of *all* historians reflect their political views." J. M. Bennett, 'Medievalism and Feminism,' *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 309 - 331 (p. 322).

¹⁰. Joyce Coleman has recently explored the continuing popularity throughout the Middle Ages of reading aloud written texts as part of a shared, enjoyable, social experience catering for all tastes and intellectual capacities, Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and The Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 26 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially chapter 1. It is probable that many of the Mary and Anne lives included in this study were read aloud to a lay audience, who were to be entertained and to spiritually profit from such an experience. The 'Orders and Rules' of the household of Cecily Nevill, Duchess of York and mother of Edward IV and Richard III, record how such devotional reading was used in her home;

[the Duchess at dinner] hath a lecture of holy matter, either Hilton of contemplative and active life, Bonaventure de infancia, Salvatoris legenda aurea, St. Maude, St. Katherine of Sonys, or the

Revelacions of St. Bridgett [...] and in the time of supper she recyteth the lecture that was had at dynner to those that be in her presence.

as quoted in Coleman, *Public Reading*, p. 139.

¹¹. Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference. Femininity, feminism and Histories of Art* (London : Routledge, 1988, reprint, 1990), p. 6.

Chapter One

'Alone of all her sex'

English devotion to Mary and her mother, Saint Anne, 1200 - 1540: its origins and character

Before focusing on Mary's marriage in England in the period 1200 - 1540, a brief history of Marian devotion is necessary to illustrate how English Marian devotion developed and to contextualise the interest in Mary and Anne's marriages which flourished in the central Middle Ages. Whilst it is impossible to name all of those who contributed to the Marian devotion inherited by the West, the most important works are included below.

Mary ; virgin, virgin, virgin : some first to fifth century explorations

The New Testament offers little information about Mary.¹ Marian information is concentrated in the early chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Matthew describes Mary as a woman, whose age is unspecified, betrothed to a man called Joseph, whose age is unspecified also (Matthew 1 : 18). Mary becomes pregnant through the Holy Spirit before she and Joseph have had intercourse and Joseph wishes to rid himself quietly of a woman who appeared to have committed adultery. Joseph is instructed by an angel in a dream to accept Mary as his wife (Matthew 1 : 24-5) which Joseph does and the narrative continues with the Nativity. The Gospel of Luke describes Mary as a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph (Luke 1 : 27). As in the Matthew account, Mary is described as conceiving whilst a virgin, something which Mary does not understand (Luke 1 : 34). Joseph and Mary then go to Bethlehem to take part in a census and the Nativity takes place.

It is these later Infancy Gospels that describe in detail the divine paternity and virginal conception of Jesus. These narratives appeared in a world familiar with the

worship of female deities, with the concept of divine impregnation of mortal women and with the belief in virgin birth.² But Mary differed from pagan goddesses in that she was not the subject of organised worship. At the start of the Christian era Mary was not central to Christian ritual. Her entrance was, as Marina Warner says, 'very quiet'.³

At some time contemporary with the production of the Gospels in the first century, stories were circulating in the Eastern Mediterranean which denied that Christ was the son of God and that Mary had conceived him miraculously.⁴ Christian, scholarly minds were exercised in countering these rumours of Christ's earthly and ordinary (indeed describable) origins, using Mary's miraculous conception of Christ as a means to do so.⁵ Mary's virgin motherhood was proclaimed at the Synod of Milan (c. 390),⁶ and for the Christian Church the matter was finally laid to rest.

At the close of the first/start of the second century Mary and Joseph's marriage comes under scrutiny. It is first discussed in order to affirm Mary's *virginity* and hence Christ's special nature. That the purpose of its discussion was to reiterate Mary's virginity, is clear in that the early Church Fathers felt that they had to *justify* Mary and Joseph's marriage. In a letter to the Ephesians, Saint Ignatius (d. c. 110), third bishop of Antioch, reasons that Mary married so that her virginity and childbearing would be hidden from the Devil.⁷ This argument was then taken up by Origen who added that Joseph could help hide the virgin birth and preserve Mary from stoning, the sentence meted out to an adulterous wife.⁸ What is stressed in this early period is that Mary's marriage was one of convenience to facilitate God's plan and that her virginity was not compromised by her marriage.

Having been a crucial figure in the defence of Christ's deity, in the second century Mary was called to the defence of her son's true humanity and again, her virginity was central to this role. In response to Gnostic denials of the reality of Christ's incarnation,⁹ Mary was manipulated by early Christian exegetes as witness of Christ's dual nature.¹⁰ Gnosticism and its various sects proved to be pervasive and enduring. Whilst such heresy was abroad in the Church, Mary and her role in Christ's incarnation were subject to debate. The Greek *Gospel/Book of James* or the *Protevangelion* as it has been called subsequently, a text from the second century CE, is believed by Cullmann, Elliott and Warner to have been written in an attempt to counter the Jewish rumours of Christ's ordinary birth and attacks on the virgin birth.¹¹ Taking the Gospels of Matthew and Luke as its starting point, the *Protevangelion* expands on the very brief biblical details of Mary's life. At the Nativity midwives are present who attest to Mary's *post-partum* virginity. In so doing, the midwives reaffirm that Christ is both incarnate (because born of a woman) and a deity because his mother remained a virgin, even having given birth. The *Protevangelion* was popular and widely disseminated and was to become, as we shall see, a crucial text in the dissemination of details about Mary's marriage.

By the start of the second century, orthodox Christians believed in Mary's virginal conception of Christ.¹² The Gospel of Matthew, however, states that Joseph 'non cognoscebat eam *donec* peperit filium suum primogenitum,' (Joseph did not know her until she had borne her firstborn son) (Matthew 1 : 24 - 25). In its use of *donec* as the temporal marker governing Mary and Joseph's relationship, the Matthew account initiated debate concerning whether or not Mary and Joseph had a full sexual relationship *after* Christ's birth. The Gospels refer to the brothers of

Jesus (as in Mark 3 : 31) which was used as evidence, by Tertullian for example, that Mary did not remain a perpetual virgin.¹³ Patristic exegesis concerning Mary's virginal conception and affirmations of Mary's virginity *in partu* and *post partum* became more frequent in the fourth century.¹⁴ In around 383 Jerome (c. 342 - 420) wrote that the reason to disbelieve that Mary and Joseph had sexual intercourse after Christ's birth, is that this is not written.¹⁵ In his tract, *De Beatae Mariae Virginitate Perpetua Adversus Helvidium*, Jerome has been credited by Michael O' Carroll with the introduction of a new belief, that Joseph remained a virgin also. Jerome explains the Lord's brothers as 'cousins.'¹⁶

The assertion and demonstration of Mary's virginity *in partu*, that is, that Christ's birth did not damage her virginity, was also taken up. Saint Augustine (354 - 430) argued in defence of Mary's virginity *in partu*.¹⁷ Elsewhere he defended Mary's perpetual virginity, 'As a virgin she conceived, as a virgin she brought forth, a virgin she remained.'¹⁸ Augustine, following the lead of Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335 - 394) proffered the belief that Mary had dedicated herself to a life of virginity before the Annunciation and continued to live in this way after this event.¹⁹ The complex nature of Mary's virginity was debated at the Council of Chalcedon (451) when Mary was proclaimed *Aeiparthenos* or *Ever Virgin*.

In the fourth century Mary and Joseph's marriage becomes, once again, a focus of patristic debate, arising, once again, from a discussion of her virginity which problematised the fact and nature of Mary and Joseph's marriage. The majority of those Fathers who comment on the marriage, as did their second century predecessors, still do so defensively, seeking to justify its existence. Saint Ephraem of Syria (c. 306 - 373) suggests that Mary and Joseph married because the guarantee of royal descent from David had to be given through a man and that

Joseph could be a witness against a possible charge of adultery against Mary.²⁰ Basil the Great (c. 330 - 379) echoed Ignatius when he wrote that Mary's virginity would hide Christ's birth from the Devil and follows Origen when he states that Joseph would be a witness to Mary's purity, preserving her from shame. In a new departure which connects Mary and Joseph's marriage with those contracted by fourth century Christians, Basil stated that virginity should be honoured but that marriage not be despised.²¹ Ambrose widens the discussion of Mary and Joseph's marriage to consider the nature of their marriage, arguing that there was a true marriage between Mary and Joseph because the essence of a true marriage was mutual consent not physical union. He concluded that the purpose of the marriage was the preservation of Mary's good name.²² Saint Augustine wrote also concerning the nature of Mary and Joseph's marriage, stating that they had a true and proper marriage.²³ It was from Ambrose and Augustine's initial writings on the nature of Mary and Joseph's marriage that the thirteenth century theory of the sacrament of marriage was to be developed, as will be discussed later in *chapter three*. In contrast, Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315-367) notes that when Mary and Joseph are mentioned in Matthew, Mary is spoken of as the Mother of Christ, *not* as the wife of Joseph, which implies a reluctance to see their union in earthly terms.²⁴ Interest in Mary and Joseph's marriage was peripheral to early Christianity, which, in its endeavours to survive, focused on Mary's virginity as central to Christ's divine and human nature. The merit and status of Mary and Joseph's marriage was undecided amongst the early Church Fathers and this ambivalence remained until the twelfth century, when, as we shall see, Mary and Joseph's marriage was utilised in scholastic discussions about the nature of marriage.

It is only in the fifth century that Marian devotion moves from being an ex-centric to a central component of Eastern Christianity. This movement in emphasis may be seen in connection with the development of Marian liturgy, the doctrinal decisions taken at the Church Council of Ephesus (431) and the aforementioned Council of Chalcedon (451), and the spiritual life and personal politics of the Byzantine Empress, Aelia Pulcheria Augusta. The focus of Marian devotion remains, however, Mary as virgin.

A feast devoted to Mary appears to have been celebrated at least during the first third of the fifth century. Connected with the Christmas cycle, its object appears to have been Mary's divine maternity and her virginal conception in particular; it was probably celebrated in December 26.²⁵ Evidence of this feast can be found in a sermon of Proclus (d. c. 446), bishop of Cyzicus but resident at Constantinople, which he gave at some point during the Christmas festival of 428 or early in 429 before Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople.²⁶ In his sermon, Proclus used and expounded on the title *Theotokos* meaning 'The God Bearer' or 'Mother of God' and its appropriateness for Mary, and on her virginity.²⁷ Proclus' praise of Mary was held to be excessive by Nestorius, who believed that Mary was either the mother of the man, *Anthropotokos*, or the mother of Christ, *Christokotos*, but that Mary could not be the mother of God because a creation could not be mother of her Creator.²⁸ Proclus' veneration of Mary was taken up and defended by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria.²⁹ Matters came to a head at the Council of Ephesus, called by the Emperor Theodosius II, in an effort to resolve the dispute about the nature of Christ, which Proclus' use of the term *Theotokos* had reignited. The outcome of this council was that Cyril's faction won and Mary was proclaimed *Theotokos*.³⁰

Twenty years later, at the Council of Chalcedon Mary was proclaimed *Aeiparthenos* or 'Ever Virgin', her virginal conception of Christ accepted without question and her virginity *in* and *post partum* affirmed.³¹ In 649 at the First Lateran Council, Pope Martin I declared Mary's perpetual virginity a dogma of the Church.³²

In his exploration of the origins of the cult of the Virgin Mary, Michael P. Carroll gives the fifth century as the starting point of Marian devotion and, arguing that her veneration commenced with the absorption of the Roman proletariat into the emerging Church, at the close of the fourth century.³³ An alternative explanation of the rise of the Mary cult in the fifth century may be arrived at by an examination of the life of the Byzantine Empress, Aelia Pulcheria Augusta (399 - 453), who ruled the Byzantine Empire during the minority of her brother, Theodosius II. Before July 1, 413, Pulcheria took a vow of perpetual virginity and induced her two sisters, Marina and Arcadia, to do the same. She maintained this vow, even during her brief marriage to Marcion in her later years. Pulcheria and her sisters made their vow of virginity publicly³⁴ and then devoted their lives to prayer and philanthropic deeds following the example of Mary's life, albeit accommodated within the physical environs of imperial palaces. That Pulcheria was devoted to Mary, and both considered herself and was considered by others to be Mary-like in her virginity and way of life, is attested in early sources.³⁵ Limberis believes that Pulcheria instituted the Virginity Festival (December 26) dedicated to Mary, participated in the festival, heard Proclus' sermon on the *Theotokos*, and proclaimed that she too had given birth to God, thus announcing her personal belief that her identity was one with that of the *Theotokos*.³⁶ Pulcheria and her sisters became embroiled in the *Theotokos* controversy.³⁷

As an Augusta, Pulcheria had the wealth to venerate Mary in a manner which could encourage public involvement. She was a most successful Marian relic collector and founder of Marian churches in Constantinople.³⁸ Pulcheria's life, her personal devotion to Mary and self-identification with Theotokos, her church building programme and her acquisition of Marian relics from whichever sources, forced Mary into the centre of Christian consciousness in fifth century Constantinople. Pulcheria's practice may have influenced the form that Marian worship was to take (vigils, hymns and processions and relics) and the outcome of the Council of Ephesus at which Mary was declared *Theotokos*.³⁹ Pulcheria's devotion also demonstrated Mary's appropriateness as the object of devotion of *female virgins*. It appears likely that a specifically Marian cult arose in the fifth century, as much from the replication of Pulcheria's Marian devotion which she practised in her churches founded for that purpose, as from the absorption of the Roman proletariat into the growing Christian Church. The focus of Pulcheria's Marian devotion was the virginity of the *Theotokos*.

Marian devotion in the West (England up until the Norman Conquest) : Virgin, virgin, virgin

The fifth to the eighth centuries saw the formalising of Marian devotion in the growing liturgy of the Eastern Church with the gradual institution of a number of Marian feasts ; Mary's conception of Christ (the Annunciation, 25 March), Christ's meeting with Simeon (Purification or *Hypapante*, 2 February), Mary's death and Assumption (15 August), Mary's Nativity (8 September), Mary's Presentation in the Temple (21 November) and Mary's conception by Anne (9 December).⁴⁰ The adoption of Marian feasts then spread westwards.

The West's adoption of these Eastern Marian feasts took place from the seventh century.⁴¹ It is during the late seventh century that Marian devotion entered Anglo-Saxon spirituality, heralded by the introduction to England of the four Roman Marian feasts of Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Assumption. Clayton has demonstrated that in England there were two distinct phases of a cult of Mary; the seventh to the start of the tenth century and the period of Benedictine reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴² Four Marian feasts were introduced in late seventh century Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia. After initial confusion in the date of the feast of Mary's Nativity, full liturgical celebration of all four was established in the eighth century.⁴³ Liturgical texts were created to celebrate these feasts, although little of this early material survives.⁴⁴ There is also evidence of a tradition of private prayer to Mary which appears to have originated in late eighth/early ninth century England.⁴⁵

Insular writers created Marian texts, re-using material from earlier periods. Aldhelm (c.639/40 - 709/10) provided the west with a collection of epithets with which to describe and revere Mary's purity as the Mother of Christ.⁴⁶ Bede (c. 673 - 735) was another insular writer to write in praise of Mary. He does discuss Mary's marriage, largely following patristic tradition. In his commentary on Luke 2, he states that Mary and Joseph were married to affirm Jesus' descent from the royal line of David, to protect Mary against stoning as an adulteress and to hide Christ's birth from the Devil. Here Bede has synthesised the summation of Patristic thought about Mary's marriage. As part of his explanation for marriage protecting Mary against stoning, Bede raises a concern not aired before - that of Mary being used by 'wayward women' as an excuse for their own behaviour.⁴⁷ There is no evidence from this early period to suggest a specifically female devotion to the

Virgin but Bede's concerns suggests that monastics were beginning to see the potential in Mary as a role-model for real women and did not wish women to call on Mary to justify their own 'wayward', sexual behaviour; even for the Mother of God, pregnancy was acceptable only within marriage. In his third homily for Advent, Bede argues that Mary had to have a husband who would be a reliable witness of her virginity and to protect Jesus during Herod's bloody search for him.⁴⁸ Although Bede says little that is new about Mary and Joseph's marriage, his linking of Mary and her use as a role model by real women is a foretaste of what was to come later.

By far the greatest body of evidence of Marian devotion before the year 1000 comes from Old English and Anglo-Latin homilies. Aelfric (955 - c. 1012) wrote two series of forty vernacular homilies, known as *The Catholic Homilies* (989-95).⁴⁹ Included in his collection is a homily for each of the Marian feasts of Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity. His homily for Mary's Nativity was written after some initial doubt on Aelfric's part. Having refused at first to write one for this feast, he did some years later. He accepts the traditional names of Mary's parents but worries that writing further about the apocryphal narratives might result in his heretically instructing his fellow monks and the laity. What resulted was a homily based on an Augustinian tract, *De Sancta Virginitate*, which was written for female virgins. Only the first section of Aelfric's homily, called *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis* deals with the Nativity of Mary. The remainder, called *De Sancta Virginitate*, talks of the spiritual rewards of virginity.⁵⁰ Aelfric was most keen to demonstrate Mary's importance as a role model for female virgins.

In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries Marian devotion entered a second period of growth that was allied to monastic reform. Marian devotion became focused in a trio of Benedictine houses in the south of England; the monks of Winchester, Exeter and Canterbury played a crucial role in the development of English Marian liturgical celebration. The Byzantine feasts of Mary's Conception and of her Presentation were introduced in around 1030 at Winchester and spread from there to Canterbury and Exeter and later still, to Ramsey.⁵¹ In England the feast of Mary's Conception was celebrated a day earlier, however, than its Byzantine counterpart, on 8 December.⁵²

From the outset, the introduction of the feast of Mary's Conception caused controversy, echoes of which are to be found in a legend concerning the spread of the feast of the Conception.⁵³ This legend appears to originate from a Ramsey source. It tells how Aelfsige (Elsinus / Helsin in later redactions), a monk of Winchester and acting abbot of Ramsey in 1062, was instructed to introduce the feast at Ramsey by an apparition wearing Episcopal insignia. Aelfsige's instructions are clear:

In vi idus decembris* die celebrabis, et predicabis ubicumque poteris, quatinus ab omnibus celebretur. [...] *Omne seruicium quod dicitur inquit in eius natiuitate, dicetur et in conceptione.* Sic ubi natalicium in natiuitate dicitur, conceptio in hac celebratione dicetur.[emphasis my own]

* The writing of the date of the feast appears to illustrate the findings of Kellner, as mentioned in note 52.

You will celebrate it on the eighth day of December, and will preach wherever you can, that it might be celebrated by everybody [...] *Let every service which is said at her nativity be also said at her conception.* Thus when her birthday is mentioned at her nativity, let her conception be mentioned in this other celebration.⁵⁴

The apparition specifies that the services to be used at the feast of the Conception are to be those of Mary's Nativity. Research by Bouman into early liturgical practice for the feast of the Conception suggests that this was actually the case in point of practice.⁵⁵ Clayton has argued that the *Nativity* material was utilised to

remove both the apocryphal bias of the feast and the stress on the miraculous annunciation of Mary's birth.⁵⁶ The very notion of a feast of Anne's conception of Mary shifted the focus from Mary's nativity to the manner of her conception. By using the sermons for Mary's Nativity which simply celebrated the fact of her birth, speculation about the nature of her birth could be avoided. The fact that Aelfsige might need a miraculous event to institute the feast at Ramsey, would seem to suggest that this controversy began within three decades of the feast's introduction in England. The effects on English spirituality of the introduction of the feast of Mary's Conception, were to be far-reaching, as shall be seen.

Anglo-Saxon England saw the development of Marian Offices or masses.⁵⁷ It appears likely that the Marian Office in England developed through private devotion, possibly as early as Alcuin (c. 735 - 804).⁵⁸ Mary was a key figure of monastic contemplation. Marian masses were included in the tenth century reform of monastic liturgical practice.⁵⁹ From around 1030, texts for a daily Office of Mary are found in English manuscripts and at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, there is a text for a Saturday Office of Mary.⁶⁰

Pre-Conquest devotion to Mary is characterised by two aspects. One is devotion to Mary as Intercessor for souls on the Day of Judgement.⁶¹ A second facet of Marian devotion was the continued veneration of her virginity. Her devotees in both periods of her cult in Anglo-Saxon England were largely men whose lives were celibate. These men responded to those features of Mary's life; her poverty, chastity and obedience, which appeared to validate their own way of life. This interest is reflected in the texts written about Mary which were generated by and for this learned elite. On the rare occasions that Mary's marriage was contemplated, devotion to her virginity, retained despite her married status, can be

seen to be the focus. In two English texts, one from the early tenth century and the other from the mid-eleventh, Mary is described as *innupta virgo* and *mater innupta*, epithets which would appear to deny that she and Joseph were married.⁶² Whilst manuscript evidence might be ambiguous concerning the audience for this material, the history of this Marian marital paradox does suggest a learned and monastic audience for this trope. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* states that the past participle of the verb *nubere*, *innuptus*, was understood from the time of Tertullian to mean 'beings not joined in marriage,' where 'marriage' was understood as meaning 'to undergo sexual intercourse' *except* when *innupta* was applied to the marriage of the Virgin Mary. In this instance alone, Mary is virgin and hence *innupta* yet she is married.⁶³ This paradox found expression in such epithets as *mater innupta* and *sponsa innupta*, long before the Anglo-Saxon period. Description of Mary as *sponsa innupta* appears as a repeated greeting to Mary in the Greek text of uncertain authorship, the sixth or seventh century *Hymnus Acathistus*.⁶⁴ Limberis argues that in the *Hymnus*, the refrain, 'Hail, bride unwedded' heightens the theological paradox all the more.⁶⁵ Knowledge of the *Hymnus* and its Marian epithets may be behind the use of such phrases, as Szövérfy has suggested that it was known to English writers.⁶⁶ The doctrinal issues which surround the use of this paradox and the languages of the texts in which it appears, certainly indicate that they were created for a learned audience whose theological interest lay in Mary's virginity.

Post-Conquest Marian Devotion in England : Immaculately Conceived Virgin and Human Mother

The Norman newcomers abolished the Marian feasts of Conception and Presentation.⁶⁷ They did not remain in disuse, however, but were re-introduced

during the twelfth century, largely due to the efforts of two Marian devotees; Anselm, Abbot of Bury Saint Edmunds and Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster.

From its re-introduction, however, the feast had a new focus and significance from that of the feast of the Conception inherited from the Byzantines; the veneration of Mary's conception as immaculate. This was a new and peculiarly English Marian devotion whose doctrinal issues incited a controversy that was to extend until 1854 when Mary's Immaculate Conception was finally declared by Pope Pius IX. Although an examination of the development of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception would present a thesis in itself, it is germane to our present study as both an aspect of a developing Marian devotion and to the later development of devotion to Saint Anne. As such, it will be summarily discussed below.

Anselm, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, was primarily responsible for the feast's re-establishment. Sheingorn believes that Abbot Anselm revived the feast of the Conception (8 December) and established it at Bury Saint Edmunds between 1121 and his death in 1148.⁶⁸ Osbert too was committed to revitalising the celebration of the feast of the Conception, as he is known to have provided Warinus, Dean of Worcester Cathedral with a sermon for the feast, at the latter's request.⁶⁹ Osbert, however, had encountered opposition when he and his monks had celebrated the feast.⁷⁰ Following the writings of Eadmer (d. 1124), disciple and biographer of Saint Anselm, Osbert had changed the focus of the feast from the *fact* of Mary's Conception to the *nature* of her conception. This in turn had implications for Mary's sanctity and freedom from original sin, which since the time of Augustine, had been held to be universal amongst all humans. In so doing, Anselm, Eadmer and Osbert had aroused controversy that was to reverberate across seven centuries.

In summary, the eastern feast of the Conception (9 December) which was called *The Conception of Saint Anne, the Mother of the Theotokos* and which had become general in the east about 850, celebrated the active conception of Mary by Anne, "with the assistance and from the seed of man [...]"⁷¹ When the feast was first introduced to England, Bouman has discovered that the early western liturgical texts for the feast, like those from the east, stress the relationship between Mary's conception and the salvation of humanity, the identification of the Virgin Mother as advocate of the faithful and make some reference to Mary's sanctification (by the giving of her name before her birth or at the moment of the Annunciation).⁷² There was, as Bouman has pointed out, doctrinal uncertainty before the twelfth century with regard to Mary's sanctification.⁷³ By the time of the feast's *reintroduction* in England, English thinking with regard to Mary's sanctification had become more developed. The same men who re-established the feast of the Conception were responsible for the crystallisation of English devotion to Mary's Immaculate Conception and the early development of veneration of her mother, Saint Anne: Abbot Anselm, Eadmer and Osbert of Clare. All three believed that, contrary to Saint Augustine's teaching that all humanity was subject to the penalties of original sin, one human was free: Mary, who had been conceived without the stain of original sin and whose virginal flesh was 'immaculate'. This was revolutionary thinking concerning the Mother of God. The *Protevangelion* had portrayed Mary's birth as miraculous, occurring to barren and aged parents but although this text suggested the supernatural arrival of Mary, neither it, nor the Church Fathers went as far as to say that Mary both as a human being and because of the nature of her birth, reflected the absence of sin. This, however, was precisely what Abbot Anselm, Eadmer and Osbert claimed, although

each offered slightly different reasons concerning how this freedom was achieved.⁷⁴

In light of the opposition to the refashioned feast and his doctrinal thought underpinning its revival, Osbert requested that Abbot Anselm debate the matter.⁷⁵ The celebration of the feast of the Conception was formally sanctioned by a council of English bishops called by Abbot Anselm in 1129, in which Henry I may have played some part and it is reasonable to assume that this was the feast of the Conception, but with its immaculate skewing.

Devotion to Mary's Immaculate conception was to spread via Normandy, through political links to Italy and the rest of Europe. This English spirituality was not without notable opponents; Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 - 1153) objected to the feast as did Thomas Aquinas (1225 - 1274).⁷⁶ It was Duns Scotus (c. 1266 - 1308) who reconciled the Immaculate Conception with the dogma of original sin and also with that of Christ as universal Redeemer,⁷⁷ arguing that although Mary's conception had been in the manner in which original sin is passed on, Mary was free from sin because Christ had given her grace. Christ remains the Universal Redeemer because he could have redeemed Mary from contracting sin had this been required. He thus maintains his greater glory over her, in fact, being able to save someone *before* their fall into original sin merely confirmed his pre-eminence as a redeemer.⁷⁸ In terms of this study, the importance of the controversy over Mary as Immaculate Conception is clear: not only was Mary's physical virginity *pre, in* and *post partum* a focus of Marian devotion but by the central Middle Ages, her unique freedom from original sin, her spiritual virginity, was also a key component of her veneration,

She [...] had no peer
Either in our first mother [Eve] or in all women

Who were to come. But alone of all her sex
pleased the Lord.⁷⁹

The late eleventh but most especially the twelfth century saw Western Marian devotion take a new direction with the development of affective piety as a means of spiritual expression. Mary became the subject of passionate and personal adoration which stressed Mary's human motherhood. This movement was felt in England too. Saint Anselm composed a meditation on the Virgin which explored Anselm's own relationship with Christ through Mary.⁸⁰ Anselm's fervent hope and trust in Mary's motherhood can be heard in two of his Latin prayers to Mary, written probably in 1072.⁸¹

The Cistercians began to create autobiographical texts which stressed the dependence of their authors on the maternal love of Mary. Bernard of Clairvaux identified Mary's human motherhood as being of completely different character from that of ordinary women.⁸² The English Cistercian, Aelred of Rievaulx (1109 - 1166), composed loving, personal meditations on the Virgin. He wrote a meditation on Jesus at the age of twelve, to explore specifically the relationship between Jesus and his mother and more generally that of mother and son.⁸³ These writers also had at their disposal the language and tropes from the continental Troubadour lyrics, which were easily transferred to Mary, to describe her chaste beauty.⁸⁴ It is in this period also, that collections of Marian miracles began circulating, many of which presented Mary in the role of mother caring for the human race. Whilst the recipients of a large number of the miracles were monks and nuns who had erred and were most in need of a loving mother's care, a number of them dealt with lay recipients, confirming that from this period, Mary as mother had significance for all of the population.⁸⁵

From the early twelfth century, Marian devotion in England had a focal point, the Shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham, Norfolk.⁸⁶ Here Mary was worshipped under a number of titles, foremost of which was the Virgin of the Annunciation. Walsingham became a site of pilgrimage, visited by royalty and ordinary folk alike, whose prayers and offerings reveal Mary was worshipped also as Intercessor and venerated as a mother, for the shrine possessed a relic containing drops of Mary's milk, and as Queen of Heaven.⁸⁷

Post-Conquest Development of Devotion to Saint Anne

The twelfth century saw the beginnings of the development of a separate devotion to Mary's mother, Saint Anne. Sheingorn suggests that this cult was probably fostered in the West in the seventh century by refugees from the Muslim conquests,⁸⁸ but it seems plausible that Anne's cult blossomed in twelfth century England because of the interest of Abbot Anselm, Eadmer of Canterbury and Osbert of Clare in how she had conceived her daughter.

There is no record of a cultus to Anne in pre-Conquest England, but devotion to her does begin to appear in the late eleventh/early twelfth century in the South West of England, in those centres which had revitalised the feast of the Conception. Commemoration of Saint Anne appears in a number of Anglo-Saxon litanies of the saints.⁸⁹

From the thirteenth century onwards, devotion to Anne appears to have developed rapidly.⁹⁰ A new feast of Saint Anne, to be celebrated on 26 July, was formally established in England in or around 1381, after Pope Urban VI issued the bull, *Paternae Gloriam*, by means of which Saint Anne's Day was made a feast of obligation to be celebrated annually by all clergy and laity alike.⁹¹ Pfaff and Scase both believe that the motive behind the timing of this bull was to honour the

marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia.⁹² It appears to have merely ratified an observance which had been taking place for some time but it is important to this present study for it demonstrates that the first feast devoted to St. Anne was linked to marriage; that of the monarch.⁹³

Conclusions

Devotion to the Virgin Mary developed from her very quiet entry in the first century CE, to encompass her early medieval veneration by a wealth of titles celebrating her virginity, her motherhood, her humanity and her ability to intercede on the behalf of troubled souls. The monks of Pre-Conquest England imported many of the Marian doctrines and feast days which developed in the Byzantine East, via the worship of Mary in Rome. This included Marian feast days of her Purification, the Annunciation, her death and Assumption and her Nativity. In the eleventh century her Presentation at the Temple and her Conception by Anne were added, repressed for some time only to reappear in the twelfth century. Out of the celebration of the feast of Mary's Conception there developed a new and specifically English devotion to Mary as Immaculate Conception. Alongside this there arose an increasing veneration to Mary's mother, Saint Anne, which was to reach fruition in the fourteenth century with a feast day devoted solely to the Mother of Mary on 26 July.

In the late twelfth / early thirteenth century, devotion to Mary, which had hitherto been led by monastic and scholastic concerns, became an important expression of lay piety and could be expressed through pilgrimage to Walsingham.

The focus of this piety was veneration of Mary's virginity which alone permitted her to be Queen of Heaven, Intercessor and Mother of God.

As we shall now see, by the opening of the thirteenth century, English artisans were producing written and pictorial artefacts which described and engaged with the marriages of Mary and her mother, Saint Anne and did so according to contemporary marital mores. These artefacts display an enthusiasm and level of interest generated in the Holy marriages which had not found expression either amongst the Church Fathers or in the Marian cult in Pre- or immediately Post-Conquest England. From the fourteenth century, vernacular Lives of Saint Anne which discuss her marital history begin to appear. This interest extends throughout the central Middle Ages, reaching its apogee in the fifteenth century and then stretching beyond into the sixteenth. It raises a number of questions; why did this interest appear in England ? Why from the thirteenth century onwards ? How are the marriages portrayed ? Why are the marriages represented in certain media and who was the audience for such works ? To understand fully the cultus of Mary and Anne in all its facets, we must now seek answers to these questions.

Chapter 1 : Notes

¹. Mary's appearances in the New Testament are as follows: in his letter to the Galatians, Saint Paul states that Jesus was 'made of a woman' (Galatians 4 : 4) but does not name Mary. Mary is mentioned twice in the Gospel of Saint Mark; she appears with the brothers of Jesus whilst Jesus is preaching (Mark 3 : 31) and is identified as Jesus' mother by those listening to Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth (Mark 6 : 3). Mary appears twice also in the Gospel of Saint John; at the marriage feast at Cana (John 2 : 1-5) and at the foot of the cross at Jesus' crucifixion (John 19 : 25 - 27). In the Acts of the Apostles, Mary prays with the disciples in Jerusalem after the Ascension (Acts 1 : 14).

². The ancient Middle East worshipped virgin mother goddesses who possessed intact maidenheads; the Canaanite Astarte and Asheroth, the Akkadian goddess Ishtar, the Sumerian goddess Inanna and the Alexandrian Kore-Persphone. The Graeco-Roman world revered both mother goddesses such as Demeter/Ceres and Isis and virgin goddesses Artemis/Diana and Athena/Minerva. The Asiatic Cybele, whom the Romans revered as Magna Mater, may have prefigured Marian devotion in its reverence of the Magna Mater as a virgin mother. The worship of these goddesses is described in M. P. Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*. The pagan world of the first century knew of

legends which attested to the divine impregnation of mortal women. Romulus, Pythagoras, Plato and Alexander the Great were all believed to have been the offspring of such unions, Warner, *Alone*, chapter three.

³. Warner, *Alone*, p. 3.

⁴. Warner has identified two stories which were circulating to deny Christ as the son of God and issue from a virgin birth; one such tale alleged that Christ was the illegitimate son of a Roman centurion called Pantherus whilst another story, Alexandrian in origin, alleged that Mary had conceived incestuously with her brother, Warner, *Alone*, p. 35. Cullman cites the Jews as the originators of the 'Panthera/us' story and demonstrates how the story was taken up by anti-Christian writers, for example, the pagan, anti-Christian author Celsus (c. 178) who alleged that the real father of Jesus was a soldier named Panthera and that his mother was a poor working girl who gave birth in some obscure place, Oscar Cullman, 'New Testament Apocrypha' in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *[Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. English] Revised Edition, Volume I : Gospels and Related Writings* (Cambridge : James Clarke; Louisville, Kentucky : John Knox Press, 1991), p. 417 and p. 484. C. F. Evan identifies how the Gospel writer Matthew attempted to defeat these rumours with a special narrative, which used their own sacred scripture against the Jews. Matthew's special narrative contains six episodes, all but one of which is annotated by an Old Testament text :

Matthew 1 : 1 - 17, the genealogy of Christ; Genesis 5 : 1

1 : 22 - 23, Virgin conception ; Isaiah 7 : 14

2 : 6, Prophecy of Messiah ; Micha 5 : 2

2 : 13, Flight into Egypt ; Hosea 11 : 1

2 : 16, Massacre of Innocents ; Jeremiah 31 : 15

in P. Ackroyd and C. F. Evan, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume I. From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1970, reprint 1992), p. 271.

⁵. The importance of Christ's genealogy and more specifically his Davidic descent, is initiated in the Infancy Gospels themselves. Both Matthew 1 : 1 and Luke 3 : 23 - 38 are concerned to show Christ's connection with Israel and the House of David. Saint Ignatius (d. c. 110), third bishop of Antioch, continuing this tradition, writes the following to the Ephesians, " Because our God, Jesus Christ, was borne in the womb by Mary according to the divine plan : [he was] of Davidic descent and was also of the Holy Spirit. " (Ephesians 18 : 2), in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 177. In his tract *Contra Celsum*, Origen (c. 185 - 254) demonstrates how Judaism sought to discredit Christ's divine nature, by denying that Mary was a virgin at Christ's conception but was merely an ordinary woman who had conceived in the usual manner. In Book I, section 34 of *Contra Celsum*, Origen writes of Jews who had contested the Greek Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Isaiah 7 : 14, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and his name shall be Emmanuel.' Origen cites the Jewish complaint that the Septuagint translation shifted the Hebrew *aalma* [sic], meaning 'young girl', to *parthenos*, the equivalent of the Latin *virgo* with the specific meaning of virgin. The Christian translation of *aalma* was problematic, as it gave the word a meaning which the Hebrew had never contained. Part of the *Contra Celsum* may be found translated from its original Greek into Latin in Casagrande, *Enchiridion*, p. 80. Isaiah 7 : 14 is used as a prefiguring of Christ's birth by Tertullian (c.158 - 220/230) in his tract *De Carne Christi* (c. 208), as printed in Casagrande, *Enchiridion*, p. 62. This particular verse had been used very early in the development of Christianity as a prefiguring of the birth of Christ. Jerome (c. 347 - 420) discusses the linguistic implications in his *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim* (389 - 392) and in his treatise *Adversus Jovinianum*, written in 393. In these texts, Jerome provides the etymology of the Hebrew *alma* [sic] and shows how it could mean both virgin and 'one hidden.' Jerome used *virgo* in both his version of Isaiah 7 : 14 and in his Latin translation of the New Testament Gospels. Jerome's deliberations over the word 'alma' have been succinctly summarised by J. H. Hritz. In translating Jerome's works from Latin to English, Hritz summarises Jerome's argument, which appears amongst other places, in his *Liber Hebraicarum quaestionum* (PL 23 : 974) as follows :

Bethula and aalma both mean virgin in Hebrew; but aalma, which is an ambiguous term in Hebrew, means not only *adulescentia* or *virgo*, but also *abscondita virgo*, that is, a virgin who is kept from the sight of men and is guarded carefully by her parents. It never means in Hebrew a married woman.

St. Jerome concludes with a challenge to the Jews that if they can show Jerome *aalma* used in the Scriptures to mean merely *adulescentia*, young woman and not *virgo* or virgin, then Christians will concede that in Isaiah 7 : 14, *aalma* means a young woman already married, in J. H. Hritz, trans., *Saint Jerome. Dogmatic and Polemical Works, Volume 38, The Fathers of the Church* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), p. 15, note 15.

⁶. Warner, *Alone*, pp. 64 - 5.

⁷. Ignatius, Ephesians 19 : 1, in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 177.

⁸. Origen, Hom. IV in Luc. IV in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 274.

⁹. The second century saw the rise of a new wave of religious enthusiasm, Gnosticism. Gnostics held all matter to be evil as it imprisoned the spirit in the darkness of the material world. Gnostics played down or denied the reality of Christ's incarnation. Those Gnostics called *Docetists* (from the Greek *dokein* : to seem or appear) believed that Christ only *appeared* to have an ordinary material body; that he was a deity who was not truly born of Mary and did not truly live and die by crucifixion.

¹⁰. Ignatius serves as an example, when he advises the early Christians at Tralles, near Ephesus, of Christ's human nature and to remember that, " [...] Jesus Christ who was of the race of David, of Mary, who really was born, ate and drank, was really persecuted under Pontius Pilate [...] who really rose from the dead [...]." Ignatius, Trallians 9 : 1 - 2 in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 177. This is advice which Ignatius repeats to the Smyrnaeans at Smyrna, a coastal town north of Ephesus.

¹¹. J. K. Elliot explains that the *Book of James* was given the title of the *Protevangelion* in the sixteenth century by Guillaume Postel, whose sixteenth century Latin translation of a contemporary Greek manuscript was called the *Protevangelion sive de natalibus Jesu Christi et ipsius Matris virginis Mariae, sermo historicus divi Jacobi minoris* (Basle, 1552 ; Strasbourg, 1570) because, according to Elliot, Postel wished to imply that the contents of the *Protevangelion* were older than those in the canonical gospels, *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 48 - 9. Both Origen and Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) used the *Protevangelion* to counter Jewish rumours of Christ's ordinary birth, made specifically by the Celsus about whom Origen had written, as quoted in Warner, *Alone*, p. 29, Cullman, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 417 and Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 50. It may have served other purposes too ; as a counter to Gnostic denials of the reality of Christ's incarnation and to satisfy early Christians' need to know about the biographical details of Christ's life. It was clear by the second century, that the Second Coming anticipated by Saint Paul was not going to happen in the near future and so the biographical detail about Christ that had not been recorded by the earliest Christians, would have to be provided from another source to satisfy the curiosity of later followers.

¹². In the *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin Martyr (d. c. 165) had declared that Mary was a virgin before the Annunciation and had remained so afterwards, Warner, *Alone*, p. 36.

¹³. Tertullian asserted that the 'brethren of the Lord' referred to in the Gospels were the sons of Mary and Joseph. Tertullian accepted Mary's virginal conception of Christ but in *De carne Christi*, 23 : 2, he rejected Mary's virginity *in partu* and *post partum*. Chapter XXIII of Tertullian's *De carne Christi* can be found in Casagrande, *Enchiridion*, p. 62. He was not alone in this rejection as it was shared by fellow Christians Jovinian, Helvidius, Bonosius, bishop of Sardica in Illyricum and by the sect called the Antidicomarianites or 'the opponents of Mary' who believed that after Christ was born, Mary lived in a sexual relationship with Joseph. The beliefs of the Antidicomarianites are to be found in Saint Epiphanius' *Panarion Sive Adversus Haereses* (373 - 377), heresy LXXVIII, I, where Epiphanius states that they:

sanctissimam Mariam post Christum in lucem editum cum viro Iosepho consuetudinem habuisse dicerent. (They say that the Most Holy Mary, after she brought Christ into the world, cohabited with Joseph in the usual way).

A Latin translation of Epiphanius' Greek original can be found in Casasgrande, *Enchiridion*, p. 419. M. O' Carroll discusses the beliefs about Mary's virginity of Jovinian, Helvidius and Bonosus in *Theotokos*, p. 88.

¹⁴. Peter of Alexandria (d.311) was the first to use the title *Ever Virgin* with which to describe Mary, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 6. Saint Epiphanius (c. 315 - 403), monk and bishop of Salamis (Cyprus) refuted the claims, in 367, of the Antidicomarianites, arguing for Mary's perpetual virginity. Epiphanius writes that this group wished to cheapen Mary's reputation and to stain people's minds and goes on to refute their claims by arguing that Joseph was such a very old, God-fearing man, that he would have respected his new wife's virgin status, Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress. The Virgin Mary and the creation of Christian Constantinople* (London and New York : Routledge, 1994), pp. 117 - 8. Saint Ambrose (339 - 397), bishop of Milan, wrote to the bishops of Illyrica suggesting that Bonosus' claims of Mary and Joseph's sexual relations after Christ's birth were to be countered by recognising that Christ would not have chosen to have been born of a woman who would then become promiscuous. On Mary's lack of promiscuity see Saint Ambrose, *Epistle de Bonoso* (PL 16, 1173c) as quoted in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 18. Ambrose sought also to illustrate that Mary's virginity was perpetual. He explains away the 'brothers of the Lord' as Joseph's relations or kindred but warns, ' Whoever wishes to investigate this matter more carefully, will find the answer. We did not think we should investigate these things since the name of brother may be common to several, ' *De Institutione Virginis*, VI, 43 (PL 16, 317) translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 18.

¹⁵. Saint Jerome (c. 342 - 420) refuted the claims of Tertullian, Helvidius and Jovinian in his essays. In around 383 Jerome wrote that the reason to disbelieve that Mary and Joseph had sexual intercourse after Christ's birth, is that this is not written, Jerome, *De Beate Mariae virginitate perpetua adversus Helvidium liber unus* (PL 23 : 203) in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 196.

¹⁶. O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 195.

¹⁷. Augustine argues that when risen, Christ had the power to pass through closed doors, ' Why, therefore, could he who was able as a grown man to enter through closed doors, not be able as an infant to go out through an incorrupt body ? ' Saint Augustine, *Sermon CXCI, 2* (PL 38, 1010) as translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 63.

¹⁸. Saint Augustine, *Sermon LI, 11, 18* (PL 38, 343) as translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 63.

¹⁹. Gregory had already put forward the opinion that Mary had, before the Annunciation, specially consecrated her flesh to God and bound herself to virginity. Using Luke 1 : 34 as evidence, Augustine interprets Mary's response to the angel as meaning that Mary had made a vow of virginity and was already consecrated to God and suggests that Mary's response to Gabriel is to confirm that it is impossible for her to ' know man.' Augustine formulated this opinion in terms of a vow, see *De Sanct. Virgin. IV, 4* (PL 40, 398) and in *Sermo. CCXCI, 2* (PL 38, 1318), excerpts translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 63.

²⁰. As translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 133.

²¹. Basil the Great, *La Homiletica II, 288 - 305* as translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 11.

²². Saint Ambrose, exposition on Luke II, as translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 18.

²³. Saint Augustine, *De Bono Conjugali* (401), of which an English translation may be found in C. L. Cornish, *Saint Augustine*, Volume II of P. Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan : Wm. B. Eerdmans, reprint 1978).

²⁴. Hilary of Poitiers on *Matthew, 1, 3* (PL 9, 922A) translated in O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 171.

²⁵. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 26. Limberis argues that the feast took place on December 26, *Divine Heiress*, p. 51.

²⁶. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 55.

²⁷. Proclus' sermon can be found in PG 65, 680 - 681 and has been translated by Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, pp. 55 -56 :

The Virginité Festival brethren calls our mouths for prayer. And the present festival becomes the patron assisting those who have gathered here, and certainly this is suitable. For the celebration has the purpose of purity, and is the perfect boast of the society of women, and glory of the female sex, because of the occurrence of the Mother and the Virgin. This gathering is the most exalted and extraordinary. For behold earth and sea bear gifts to the Virgin, the sea spreads her back calmly under ships sailing across, the earth dispatches unhindered those people traveling [sic] by foot. Let nature leap about, and let the human race exult in joy, because women are honoured. Let humanity dance, because Virgins are glorified. 'But where sin increased, grace abounded all the more. (Romans 5 : 20). For this reason the Holy Virgin Mary Theotokos called us now together [...]

²⁸. M. P. Carroll, *The Cult of Mary. Psychological Origins*, p. 84. This is interesting as the term *Theotokos* had already been applied to Mary by Alexander of Alexandria (d. 382), Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 5.

²⁹. In Easter 429 Cyril issued an encyclical to the monks in Egypt, *Epistle to the Monks of Egypt*, in defence of the *Theotokos* title, K. G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London : University of California Press, 1982), p. 158.

³⁰. The proclamation was popular amongst the inhabitants of Ephesus who, in their delight, illuminated the city with flaming torches, N. Perry and L. Echeverria, *Under the Heel of Mary* (London and New York : Routledge, 1988), p. 9.

³¹. A collection of essays written by Pope Leo the Great (440 - 61) known as the *Tome of Leo* was accepted at Chalcedon as the official position of the Church with regard to doctrinal belief. Included in these essays was a statement concerning Mary's virginity; her virginal conception of Christ was accepted without question and her virginity *in* and *post partum* was affirmed also, M. P. Carroll, *The Cult of Mary. Psychological Origins*, p. 85. Warner states that Mary was proclaimed *Aeiparthenos* at Chalcedon, *Alone*, pp. 65 - 6.

³². Warner, *Alone*, p. 66.

³³. See M. P. Carroll, *The Cult of Mary. Psychological Origins*, chapter four. Carroll argues that many of the Roman poor were from what Carroll terms 'father ineffective families', that is, families from which the father was absent due to the economic necessity of finding work so that the mother was the figure who held all the power. The effect of such a role model on the young males in the household is to produce men who are characterised by a strong but strongly repressed sexual desire for their mother. According to Carroll, this desire was then transferred initially to their worship of Cybele, the Magna Mater, and then on their absorption into the Christian Church, onto Mary herself. Carroll argues that Mary represents an ideal figure onto which to transfer repressed maternal desire as she is both mother and disassociated in every way from sexuality. Carroll suggests that the sheer number of men from father-ineffective families gives rise to devotion to Mary on the scale of a cult. He dates the emergence and historical rise of the Marian cult from the Council of Chalcedon (451) which, in its declaration of Mary as *Aeiparthenos* made Mary's disassociation from sexuality complete. Carroll admits that he has no documentary evidence of either the existence of father-ineffective families amongst the Roman proletariat or of their sudden absorption in to the Christian Church from which he suggests they were absent for the first four centuries. His hypothesis must therefore be regarded as interesting but unproven.

³⁴. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 93.

³⁵. Atticus (406 - 25), bishop of Constantinople, wrote a now lost treatise *On Faith and Virginity*, addressing it to Pulcheria and her sisters and is believed to have counselled Pulcheria in her decision to take a vow of virginity. It is likely that Atticus presented Mary as the archetypal virgin whose chastity the sisters should emulate, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, pp. 138 - 9.

³⁶. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 54.

³⁷. In 430, Proclus' supporter, Cyril, wrote an *Address to the most Pious Princesses*, to the court of Pulcheria and her sisters, presenting Cyril's argument for why Mary was Theotokos, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, pp. 150 - 160. The text of Cyril's letter may be found in Casagrande, *Enchiridion*, pp. 788 - 793. He then followed this with a second treatise, *Address to the Most Pious Empresses on the Correct Faith*, addressed to Pulcheria herself, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 160. Holum has argued that Pulcheria suggested the choice of Ephesus as the location for the Council to debate the Cyril/Nestorian argument, to influence the outcome in favour of the Marian faction. Whether the locale was suggested by Pulcheria or not, Ephesus certainly held a Marian bias. Originally the centre for the worship of the virgin goddess Artemis, Ephesus had then devoted itself to the worship of Theotokos. Indeed, the Council was held in the church dedicated to Mary. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 164.

³⁸. In his *De Ceremoniis*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tenth century) mentioned a *Theotokos* church called 'First Founded', located in the imperial palace, in close proximity to the Church of Saint Stephen which Pulcheria had built, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 143. A late fifth century text states that the imperial family worshipped in a Mary church before the Council of Ephesus, which would seem to imply that the 'First-Founded' antedates 431. Holum has suggested that Pulcheria herself built this Marian church to bring the Virgin into physical intimacy with her own imperial rule, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 143. Pulcheria constructed three Marian churches in Constantinople in the last decades of her life; the churches of Blachernae, the Hodegetria and the Chalkoprateia. Pulcheria's Marian foundations have been associated traditionally with three Marian relics; the icon of Mary and Christ called the 'Theotokos Hodegetria' (or the ' Mother of God guiding the Way', which Mary does by pointing to the Christ child whom she holds in her arms) believed to have been painted by Saint Luke, Mary's grave clothes (her shroud or veil / *maphorion*) and her girdle or cincture / *Zona* sanctified by a few drops of her milk. Sixth century testimony indicates that the three foundations were Marian and built by Pulcheria. That each housed a Marian relic acquired by Pulcheria is a matter for debate. The name Hodegetria or 'Guides' would suggest that this church housed the icon of Mary, the 'Theotokos Hodegetria.' Following the earliest source concerning Pulcheria's churches, Theodore Anagnostes, both Pevsner and Warner state that the 'Theotokos Hodgetria', believed to have been painted by Saint Luke, was sent to Pulcheria by Eudocia (d. 406), her sister-in-law, from Jerusalem in 438; Warner, *Alone*, p. 291 and N. Pevsner *The Pelican History of Art. Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London : Pelican, 1970), p. 38. Holum considers this unlikely because it is an Iconoclastic (eighth century) interpolation in Anagnostes and that Pulcheria and Eudocia were sworn enemies so the exchange of such a valuable gift would have been unlikely, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 142. More recently Limberis has added her voice to this debate, believing that Eudocia brought the icon from Jerusalem and gave it to Pulcheria, who housed it in the Hodegetria. Limberis argues further that a vigil was held there every Tuesday evening at Pulcheria's request, Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, pp. 57 - 58. No early sources record how Pulcheria acquired Mary's cincture or *zona*, her girdle sanctified by a few drops of her milk, which both Holum and Warner state was housed in The Chalkoprateia. According to Limberis, Pulcheria instituted a vigil in the church of the Hodegetria each Wednesday for the Theotokos with candles, hymns, and a procession, Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 59. The church at Blachernai is believed by Holum and Warner to have contained Mary's shroud or grave clothes, which were promised to Pulcheria by Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem, Warner; *Alone*, p. 291 and Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 142, note 120. Warner states that in early versions of this story Pulcheria was sent Mary's long veil / *maphorion* and sash, which in a later version became Mary's graveclothes and shroud, Warner, *Alone*, p. 87. John of Damascus (d. 789) records that Pulcheria and her husband Marcion, seeking Mary's coffin and the remains of the Virgin from Patriarch Juvenal of Jerusalem as they understood Theotokos to have been buried in the church at Gethsemane, were given Mary's grave clothes instead, Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 58. Warner and Limberis agree that this event took place after the Council of Chalcedon (451), Warner, *Alone*, p. 87 and Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 58. Although John of Damascus ends his story by stating

that Pulcheria took the remains and put them in the Blachernae quarter in Constantinople, Limberis argues that Mary's shroud did not arrive until 473 (twenty years after Pulcheria's death) and was housed in the church of Blachernae, in the Soros chapel which was finished under the rule of Leo I (457 - 474) and his wife Verina, Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 58. Holum concludes that Pulcheria was responsible for locating Mary's grave clothes and cincture because Pulcheria's usual practice was to seek out some part of a saint, to whom she had founded a church, with which to endow that foundation, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, p. 137.

³⁹. Limberis has gone so far as to claim that Pulcheria's self-identification with Mary required that Mary be treated with the same dignity and ceremony due to an imperial Augusta :

When she [Pulcheria] claimed that her identity was the Virgin's, suddenly the identity of the Theotokos was merged with the imperial power Pulcheria held as Augusta. [...] Pulcheria's claim to the Virgin's identity was a great factor in making the Theotokos divine. Not only were imperial persons publicly praised in panegyrics and hymns, venerated in images, and celebrated in ritualised ceremonies, so had the gods of antiquity been praised. Pulcheria's claim that her identity was the same as the Virgin's was a claim to supernatural power. [...] Second in the minds of the people an Augusta could only claim an identity greater than her own, and that could only be a divine being, not a humble maiden of first century Palestine. [...] Pulcheria's devotion to the Virgin was a superior precipitator for the Church to develop its traditions about the Virgin in the context of civic religion. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, pp. 60 - 61.

⁴⁰. Proclus' sermon provides evidence of the Virginité Festival, celebrated on December 26, which, appears to have been celebrated in Constantinople, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Egypt and also Gaul. Clayton argues that in around 530, the feast of Mary's conception of Christ (Annunciation) was fixed on 25 March in the Byzantine East. In 542, the Feast of Christ's Purification or *Hypapante*; the meeting of Christ and Simeon (2 February) was introduced in Byzantium by Justinian. In the seventh and eight centuries, the Eastern Church established four more Marian feasts; in around 600, the Byzantine Emperor Maurice selected 15 August to celebrate Mary's death and Assumption, much debated since the fifth century. In the first half of the seventh century, a feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September) was probably kept. Mary's Presentation in the Temple was celebrated from the end of the seventh century in Greece, the time at which the first trace of a feast of Mary's conception by Anne appears (9 December), Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 25 - 27. According to Bouman, the Byzantine East was celebrating the feast of Mary's Conception (9 December) by c. 850, C. A. Bouman, ' The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy' in E. D. O' Connor, ed., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. History and Significance* (Notre Dame, Indiana : University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), 113 - 160, (pp. 114 - 5).

⁴¹. In around 640, the Feasts of the Purification and the Assumption were introduced in Rome. The Annunciation was introduced in Rome around a decade later in c. 650 but neither the Purification nor the Annunciation were regarded initially as Marian feasts. The former was still regarded as a feast of Simeon and the latter as a feast of Christ. Between 660 and 670, the feast of Mary's Nativity was introduced to Rome and celebrated from c. 680 - 95 onwards. At this point, the titles of the feasts of 2 February and 25 March were altered to emphasise their Marian significance. By the close of the seventh century, Western Christian ritual celebrated Mary's Purification, the Annunciation, her Assumption and her Nativity, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 25 - 7.

⁴². The earlier cult was located in Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia whilst the later was concentrated in the south. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 267.

⁴³. Clayton finds evidence of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of the Roman Feast of Mary's Nativity as early as the late seventh century (the feast having been celebrated in Rome only from c. 680 - 95 onwards.) Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica* (*In Ecclesia Mariae Bugge exstructa*) c. 690, the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum Epternacense*, the Calendar of St. Willibrord and the Walderdorf Calendar, all record a commemoration of Mary's nativity on 16 August. Clayton argues that the date of 16 August in the *MHE* (copied at the beginning of the eighth century) results from a

twofold error. Firstly, the date is one day out and should read 15 August and hence the date of the established feast of Mary's Assumption. Secondly the scribe incorrectly expanded *nat* on this feast to *nativitas* (birthday) instead of *natalis* (the more general saint's day). This mistake was then replicated in the Calendar of Willibrord, also of the beginning of the eighth century, because this text was bound with the *MHE* and corrected from it. By the entry for 16 August in Willibrord, a scribe has added *natiui*. Of the Walderdorf Calendar (c. 750) only the months of July and August remain. The entry for 16 August reads, *Orationes et preces in natiuitate sanctae Marie*. This Calendar is related also to the *MHE* and owes its mistake to this source. Aldhelm's mistake is derived from his use of what Clayton describes as an immediate ancestor of the *MHE* with which to identify the significance of 16 August for a Church dedication. By the second half of the eighth century the initial confusion surrounding Mary's feast days seems at an end, the Roman pattern is adopted and knowledge of the Marian feasts were clearly spreading in England. This may be seen in the Metrical Calendar of York (provenance probably York, second half of the eighth century) where the Marian feasts of the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity are celebrated, the latter on 8 September. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 30 - 40.

⁴⁴. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 52.

⁴⁵. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 268.

⁴⁶. Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate*, written post 675, draws on, amongst other sources, Isaiah and the *Song of Songs* for comparisons with which to praise Mary. His focus is her perpetual virginity which he praises in chapter XL, by calling her the 'closed garden' and 'sealed fountain' of *Canticles* IV, 12, M. Lapidge and M. Herren, trans., *Aldhelm. The Prose Works [of] Aldhelm translated [from the Latin]* (Ipswich : Brewer, 1979).

⁴⁷. O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 73.

⁴⁸. O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 73.

⁴⁹. Clayton has argued that these homilies were intended for use in preaching to the laity when they attended mass in the monastic church and so a mixed audience of monastic and lay may be assumed. Aelfric's Homilies I have been edited by most recently M. R. Godden who has edited the second series in *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series: Text*, EETS SS 5 (London, New York, Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1979). Mary Clayton discusses the audience for Aelfric's homilies in *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 210 - 11.

⁵⁰. The text of Aelfric's Homily *Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Virginis* can be found in B. Assmann, ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* reprint [of the edition published at Kassel, 1859 (Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1954), pp. 24 - 48. Mary Clayton suggests that one of the wise teachers to whom Aelfric refers may have been Pope Gelasius I (492 - 6) who was believed the author of a decree which outlawed the non-canonical accounts of Mary's birth and early life. Aelfric may have known a copy of the decree's judgements, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 363, a manuscript to which Aelfric is connected. A Carolingian condemnation of these narratives was written by Paschasius Radbertus (c. 780 - c. 865) in his *Commentary on Matthew*. Aelfric is known to have used another of Radbertus' works, the *Cogitis Me* for Aelfric's homily on the Assumption of the Virgin. It is not improbable that Aelfric knew of Radbertus' *Commentary* also. Two other parallels to Aelfric's note of concern exist; an anonymous pastiche of a number of writers in PL 101, 1301 and in a Nativity sermon by one of Aelfric's contemporaries, Fulbert of Chartres (962 - 1028), PL 141, 327. Aelfric may not have known any of these parallels other than the Gelasian Decree, Mary Clayton, 'Aelfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Anglia* 104 (1986), 286 - 315 (pp. 290 - 1).

⁵¹. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 42 - 50, provides detailed evidence of the introduction of the Byzantine feasts of the Conception and Presentation of Mary at the Temple in England in c. 1030. These feasts can be found in three, eleventh century calendars : London, British Library Cotton Vitellius E. XVIII., Cotton Titus D. XXVII and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391. The first two were written at Winchester and the latter at Worcester. Cotton Titus D was written c. 1023 - 32 but the entries for the feasts of the Conception and Presentation were added later during the

period 1032 - 57. Cotton Vitellius E. XVIII is probably also a New Minster manuscript and has been dated c. 1030. The manuscripts point to the feasts being introduced into England at Winchester c. 1030. Clayton concurs with Bishop that the introduction was effected by Anglo-Saxon monks meeting Greek monks either in Southern Italy, or even in Malmesbury. Exeter is likely to have learned of the Winchester feasts through Leofric's efforts to build up Exeter Cathedral library, which he acquired in 1050. Leofric had copies made of many Winchester manuscripts, including a pontifical-benedictional with a blessing for the feast of the Conception, now London, British Library, Additional 28188, dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century. In the 'Leofric Missal', Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 579, an eleventh century scribe has added the mass for the Conception at some point shortly after the Conquest. A pontifical-benedictional from Christ Church, Canterbury, London, British Library, Harley 2892, of the first half of the eleventh century but after 1023, contains the feasts of the Conception and Presentation and Benedictions to be said 'In dei Conceptionis sancte Dei genetricis Marie', as printed in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica. Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918, reprint 1962), p. 240. The Winchester Calendar was transferred to Canterbury by 1010x1020 and so these feasts must have been added later but for Clayton, the exact date at which they were added remains unclear.

⁵². One possible explanation of this may be an English attempt at rationalisation - 8 December is nine calendar months before Mary's birth on 8 September. An alternative explanation of the shift in date, however, is suggested by the observations of Kellner who notes that in the Roman [Western] calendar the writing of VI Idus Dec. looks like that of VI Idus Sept., the traditional date of Mary's Nativity, whereas December 9 (because December has 31 not 30 days) is written V Idus Dec. so this may simply be a kind of assimilation, Bouman, ' The Immaculate Conception ', p. 115, note 6. Clayton argues for the unlikelihood of the celebration of either the feast of Mary's Conception or her Presentation anywhere else in western Europe at this date, although Bouman does suggest that Normandy had independently celebrated the feast of Mary's Conception before the Conquest and that Winchester and Canterbury had, in fact, borrowed it from these Norman centres, Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 130. Bouman's theory appears weak on two counts : firstly, as Bouman admits, there is no evidence to support this theory of transmission and secondly if the Normans were familiar with the feast, and indeed had been integral to its spread in the West, why should they repress it on their arrival in England after the Conquest ? Bouman's theory seems the least likely of the two, Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 130. Clayton concurs with Bishop that the introduction of the feasts of the Conception and Presentation may have been effected by Anglo-Saxon monks meeting Greek monks either in Southern Italy, Constantinople or even in Malmesbury, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 44. There is also a possibility that the feast may have been introduced by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury.

⁵³. The legend was, first reported by Anselm, Abbot of Bury Saint Edmunds (d. 1148) in his collection of Marian miracles but concerning events in the second half of the eleventh century. For a translation of the miracle see Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 48, n. 87. For details of the miracle's transmission see R. Southern, 'The English Origins of the " Miracles of the Virgin", ' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, IV (1958), 176 - 216 (pp. 176 - 216) and Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record and Event 1000 - 1215* (London : Scholar Press, 1982, revised edition, 1987), pp. 158 - 165.

⁵⁴. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 48

⁵⁵. Bouman writes that, 'As it happens, we find very often in missals and office books no proper formulas at all, but the simple rubric that all the texts for the feast of December 8 are to be taken from the formulary of the *Nativitas b. Mariae Virginis*, except that the word *Conceptio* is to be inserted where the text of September 8 reads *Nativitas* or *Ortus*.' 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 141.

⁵⁶. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 49.

⁵⁷. These offices appeared in three different types ; a single text which could be said at any time, a 'Little office of Mary' and a Saturday Office, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 66.

⁵⁸. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 68.

⁵⁹. The *Regularis Concordia*, the rule for reformed monasteries written c. 970, prescribed two Marian devotions - a mass for Mary on Saturdays and an antiphon or chant to be sung after Lauds and Vespers when the psalms for the King and Queen and benefactors have been completed, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 63.

⁶⁰. These texts are believed to have been composed in Winchester and Canterbury, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 271.

⁶¹. This can be seen in both written and pictorial discourse and is described in detail in Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, chapter six.

⁶². The earliest of these two texts is the southern English collectar and capitulary, Durham Cathedral Library A. IV. 19, is believed by Dumville to have been written between 890 and 930 and to have originated at Chester-le-Street, Durham, D. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England. Four Studies* (Woodbridge : Boydell Press, 1992), p. 129. Dumville identifies the possible movement south of the collectar to the King's court at Wessex, whilst it was being glossed by Aeldred, who in 970 was travelling in attendance on the Northern bishop of Chester-le-Street who attended the King's court. Dumville dates the collectar between 860x930, *Liturgy*, p. 106 and n. 61. Gneuss is more circumspect in his dating, suggesting s.xⁱⁿ. but agrees the provenance of Chester-le-Street, H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 112. The codex contains a statement about Mary's marital status in an antiphon, 'Beata mater et innupta virgo, gloriosa regina mundi,' (Blessed mother and *unmarried* virgin, glorious queen of the world) (emphasis my own), in U. Lindelofand and A. H. Thompson, eds., *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis: The Durham Collectar*, Surtees Society 140 (Durham : Andrew & Co., 1927), p. 151, An'[tifona]. Beata mater et innupta virgo gloriosa regina mundi. Blessed mother and *unmarried* virgin [...]

A second, later affirmation of Mary's unmarried and virginal status can be found in an English Office of Mary, London, British Library, Tiberius A. iii. This is a large manuscript of miscellaneous contents and contains an Office of Mary (Fols. 107 v - 115v) as one of a collection of texts written around the middle of the eleventh century, probably at Christ Church, Canterbury. This Office provides the earliest extant antiphon which exhorts Mary to rejoice in her unique status of being an unmarried mother. Clayton, *The Cult Of Mary*, p. 74 , translates the antiphon as follows :

Gaude Dei genetrix virgo immaculata. Gaude que gaudium ab angelo suscepit. Gaude que genuisti aeterni uminis claritatem. Gaude mater. Gaude sancta Dei genetrix uirgo, tu sola *mater innupta*. Te laudat omnis factura domini. Pro nobis supplica. (emphasis my own).

Rejoice immaculate virgin, mother of God. Rejoice because you have received joy from the angel. Rejoice because you have given birth to the brightness of eternal life. Rejoice, O mother. Rejoice holy mother of God, you alone are a virgin, *O unmarried mother*. All the work of the Lord praises you. Entreat for us.

The codex in which this text may be found is not a liturgical one but a large miscellany. Gneuss has suggested that it may have been a reference book and Dumville believes while its heavily glossed texts may imply its use in a monastic schoolroom, its high status decoration might suggest another use entirely. Gneuss dates Cotton Tiberius A. III as s. xi med. and offers Christ Church Canterbury as its provenance. He suggests that the collection was made for private use, H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology' in Lapidge and Gneuss, eds., *Learning*, p. 127. Clayton sees it as a large miscellaneous collection compiled as either a teaching book or as a preserver of texts which the compiler found of interest but feels that it unlikely to have been used in choir, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 76. Most recently, Dumville has pointed to how the nature of the texts preserved in the codex implies a mixture of functions, from use in the

monastic schoolroom to a that of a high status object, Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 137. The regular recitation of this Office cannot be proven nor can a public audience be assumed.

⁶³. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. VII, I, fasc. IX 'Ineber - Infirmo', (Leipzig : Teubner, 1951), p. 1729.

⁶⁴. Warner, *Alone*, p. 63, attributes the Hymnus to Romanus Melodius, although both Casagrande, *Enchiridion*, p. 1913 and O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 312 challenge this attribution. Casagrande suggests possible alternatives: Sergio or Germanus Constantinopolitanis (c. 653 - 733), Georgio Pisidae (7th c.) but discounts the possibility of St. Romanus (c. 490 - c. 560). Limberis cites that both Grosdidier de Matons and Trypanis believe the *Akathistos Hymn* to be anonymous and to pre-date Romanus the Melodist, with de Matons suggesting a date of between 475 x 525 but Limberis concludes that it may have been written at any time after the Council of Ephesus (431). Limberis gives an English translation of the complete hymn in *Divine Heiress*, pp. 149 - 158.

⁶⁵. With regard to the techniques used in the writing of the *Hymnus*, Limberis argues that the author,

[...] combined the rules of encomia (a speech of praise) with some of the rules of epithalamia, or wedding speeches. Classic epithalamia kept repeating a verse of praise. Blending epithalamic forms into a hymn to the Virgin with a refrain so obvious as "Hail, bride unwedded," heightens the theological paradox all the more. Limberis, *Divine Heiress*, p. 95.

⁶⁶. Concerning the *Akathistos* in the West, see J. Szövérfy, 'Der Griechische Liber Hymnorum und die Synaxarion', *Litteraturwissenschaftlichen Jahrbuch* N. F. 3 (1962), 335 - 43 (p. 338).

⁶⁷. Bishop suggested some time ago that the Normans abolished those specifically English liturgical observations and this included the feast of the Conception at Winchester and Canterbury, Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 246. Clayton fixes these dates more specifically as 1070 at Canterbury under Lanfranc's reform and then at Winchester under the abbacy of Walchelin. It possibly lived on to 1087 at Ramsey, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 50.

⁶⁸. Sheingorn mentions briefly that the feast of Anne's Conception of Mary was re-established through the efforts of Anselm of Edmundsbury [sic], Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 12. Abbot Anselm's involvement is covered in detail by Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 243 - 249; documentary evidence indicates that Abbot Anselm had actually revived the feast by 1128 - 9, as in a letter to Abbot Anselm from Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster, dated 1128 - 9, Osbert identifies Abbot Anselm as the leading light in the dissemination of this feast, "[...] etiam in multis locis celebratur eius vestra sedulitate festa conceptio" (emphasis my own). (The feast of the conception is being celebrated in many places *through your earnestness*.) The Feast of Mary's Conception was known and celebrated in such places as London, where it was kept by the monks of Westminster and Reading in or before 1127. It was celebrated at Worcester Cathedral (after 1125), at Winchcombe in 1126, at Gloucester (before 1131) and at Saint Albans before 1146, Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 247. Benedicta Ward includes Ramsey in this list, *Miracles*, p. 158.

⁶⁹. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 248. Mayberry has produced evidence that Westminster Abbey Church, of which Osbert was prior at least by 1136, had been celebrating the Immaculate Conception on 8 December, from 1127, Nancy Mayberry, 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in medieval and Renaissance art, literature and society', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 21 (1991) 2, 207 - 224 (p. 209, note. 4). Archdale King provides evidence of the celebration of the feast at Salisbury, possibly from 1150 but certainly before 1319, in the Crawford Missal, *Liturgies of the Past* (London : Longmans, 1959), pp. 308 - 9.

⁷⁰. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 247. Bishop gives the following details about Osbert's opposition :

Wherefore, some followers of Satan, whilst we were keeping this Feast, decried its observance as hitherto unheard-of and absurd, and with malicious intent they went to two bishops, Roger and Bernard, who happened then to be in the neighbourhood, and, representing its novelty, they

excited them to displeasure. The bishops declared that the festival was forbidden by a council, and that the observance of it must be stopped.

Bishop has identified the two bishops as Roger of Salisbury and Bernard of St. David's who opposed the celebration because it had been forbidden 'by a council', possibly a vague memory of a much earlier Norman council which had prohibited the feast.

⁷¹. Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 11, note 12.

⁷². Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 132 - 3.

⁷³. Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception,' p. 134.

⁷⁴. Eadmer freely admits his ignorance about the manner in which Mary was made free from original sin but tries to explain that, as a result of the omnipotence of God, Mary was, '[...] utterly free from any stain of sin, through a unique and - to human minds -- inscrutable power and operation of God, in her conception, she was not bound by the same law as others, C. Balic, 'The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception' in O' Connor, ed., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, 161 - 212 (p. 179). Abbot Anselm and Osbert of Clare corresponded on the topic. In his letter to Abbot Anselm, as in his *Sermo de Conceptione*, Osbert expressed his reasons for believing in the Immaculate Conception; it was the beginning of the Redemption. In his *Epistola ad Anselmum*, Osbert writes that God ' [...] so thoroughly purified and illumined it [Mary] that He left no impurity in that flesh from which the flesh of our Redemption was destined to be taken.' as quoted and translated in Balic, 'The Mediaeval Controversy,' p. 176.

⁷⁵. The debate took place between Anselm, Gilbert, Bishop of London, a learned theologian, Hugh, Abbot of Reading (who like Osbert, was already celebrating what appears to have been the feast of the Immaculate Conception) and Henry I who, according to Osbert, " hanc festivitatem prece etiam regis Henrici solemniter celebrat [...] ". (this festival was already being celebrated by King Henry), Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 234.

⁷⁶. Bernard of Clairvaux protested to the canons of Lyons, because they were proposing to institute the English feast of the Immaculate Conception on 8 December. Warner, *Alone*, p. 240. Nicholas, prior of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Albans (twelfth century) responded to Bernard with a work called *Liber Magistri Nicholai de Celebrande conceptione beatae Mariae Contra Bernardum*, in which he set out a number of reasons for the celebration of the Immaculate Conception, one of which was that the feast of Mary's Nativity was ambiguous about Mary's saintly origins, O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, pp. 268 - 9. In the thirteenth century its most notable opponent was Saint Thomas Aquinas, who felt that this doctrine detracted from the dignity of Christ in his capacity as saviour of all; if Mary had not required saving (having been free from sin), then Christ had not redeemed all humanity, ' Anyone without original sin would have no need of the Redemption which came through Christ, and thus Christ would not be the redeemer of all,' Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Sent. IV, d. 43 q.1* as quoted and translated in Balic, 'The Mediaeval Controversy,' p. 194. Aquinas wrote that feast of the Mary's Conception should not be understood to celebrate the moment of Mary's sanctification because it is not known when Mary was sanctified. The feast celebrates not the *moment* of her sanctification but the *fact* of her sanctification, O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 343. Aquinas' concerns did not deflate this English enthusiasm. It served only to divide the pious along partisan lines. The Dominicans followed Aquinas' teaching and distanced themselves from the doctrine. In the fourteenth century, the Franciscans in particular took up the cause, Warner, *Alone*, p. 242. The Franciscans William of Ware (d. 1305) and William of Nottingham (d. 1336) professed and defended this belief, O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 367. Ware was the teacher of Duns Scotus.

⁷⁷. Duns Scotus writes :

(If she had been without sin) Mary would have had the greatest need of Christ as Redeemer; for by reason of her procreation, which followed the common mode, she would have contracted original sin had she not been kept from it by the grace of the Mediator, and just as others are in need of Christ for the remission, by His merit, of sin which they have already contracted, so Mary would have been in still greater need of a Mediator preventing her from contracting sin.

Balic, 'The Mediaeval Controversy,' p. 207.

⁷⁸. In the fifteenth century, the papacy in Rome started the move toward making the Immaculate Conception Church dogma. The Council of Basle (1431 - 49) was asked to debate and conclude upon the matter and in 1438 it did conclude in favour of the Immaculate Conception. The decree governing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was published 17 September, 1438 and reads: '[...] We define and declare that the doctrine according to which the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, by a special effect of divine preventing and operating grace, was never stained with original sin, but has always been holy and immaculate, is a pious doctrine, conformable to the cult of the Church, to Catholic Faith, to right reason and Sacred Scripture; it must be approved, held and professed by all Catholics; furthermore, it is no longer allowed to preach or teach anything contrary to it.' As quoted and translated in W. Sebastian, 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception from after Scotus to the End of the Eighteenth Century' in O' Connor, ed., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, 213 - 326 (p. 232). This decision was declared invalid, as the Church was in schism at the time. In 1477 Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan, confirmed the legitimacy of a feast day for the Immaculate Conception, the date as 8 December and approved two offices for its celebration, Mayberry, 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception', p. 209. In 1485, Pope Sixtus IV promulgated a papal bull, *Grave Nimis*, which explained that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had not yet been decided by the Church but it forbade on pain of excommunication that either those who supported or opposed the doctrine should be called heretical, Mayberry, 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception', p. 209. The matter remained unconcluded during the Middle Ages and the wrangling continued until the nineteenth century.

⁷⁹. Caelius Sedulius, *Paschalis Carmen*, Book II, ll. 68 - 9, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, ed., J. Huemer (Vienna, 1885) as quoted in Warner, *Alone*, p. xvii.

⁸⁰. The composition becomes, however, a passionate expression of Anselm's gratitude to Mary: The mother of God is our mother. The mother of him in whom alone we hope and who alone we fear is our mother. The mother, I say, of him alone saves us, alone damns us, is our mother [...] Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation*, p. 118.

⁸¹. Benedicta Ward, trans., *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Prosologion* (London : Penguin, first published 1973, reprint 1988), p. 12. The opening of his second prayer, for 'When the mind is anxious with fear' reads, ' Virgin venerated throughout the world / Mother dear to the human race [...] '.

⁸². Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 104 - 6.

⁸³. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 115.

⁸⁴. A late, English example can be found in the thirteenth century, vernacular tenison or debate, *The Thrush and the Nightingale* where womanhood is vindicated of all slurs against her, by the invocation of the chastity and beauty of the Virgin Mary. Excerpts from the *tenison* translated into modern English can be found in Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended. An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 224.

⁸⁵. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation*, p. 132 - 4. Marian miracles were popular and from the twelfth century. They were collected by Prior Dominic of Evesham, William of Malmesbury and Abbot Anselm of Bury St. Edmunds before 1143, as discussed by Southern, 'The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin'', pp. 176 - 216. More recently, Benedicta Ward has examined Marian miracles in *Miracles*, pp. 158 - 65.

⁸⁶. The story goes that at some point between 1061 and 1130, Richeldis or Recholdis de Faverches, a noble widow, established a chapel dedicated to Mary at Walsingham in Norfolk. This chapel was built to replicate the 'Holy House at Nazareth', where Mary had received the Annunciation. Its dimensions were revealed to Richeldis in a vision by Mary herself. The date of the foundation of the Marian shrine at Walsingham has been disputed. Warner, *Alone*, p. 295 gives the date as c. 1130. Edmund Waterton quotes from a ballad printed by Robert Pynson and composed around

1460, that states that the chapel at Walsingham was built as early as 1061, *Pietas Mariana Britannica. A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Marye Mother of God* (London : St. Joseph's Catholic Library, 1879), p. 135. J. C. Dickinson argues for a date of, in or around 1153 for the beginning of the priory at Walsingham, which was preceded by Richelde de Fervaques' [sic] chapel, which Dickinson believes was built around 1130 - 1, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 4 - 7.

⁸⁷. The shrine is known to have possessed a relic containing drops of Mary's milk, Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, p. 173. A late twelfth or early thirteenth century seal exists from Walsingham Priory, the centre established soon after the Norman Conquest by Geoffrey de Faveraches, Richeldis' son, to whom the chapel was bequeathed. The seal bears a picture of Mary enthroned and wearing a crown. Her right hand is extended in the attitude of blessing and she holds Christ on her knee. The seal suggests yet another aspect of Marian devotion at Walsingham was that of her veneration as Queen of Heaven, Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, pp. 203, 205 and 219.

⁸⁸. Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 10.

⁸⁹. The earliest of these lists which include commemoration of Anne is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, the so-called *Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, a breviary written at Worcester in around 1065, M. Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society, CVI (London : Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991), p. 65. Osbert of Clare who was instrumental in the dissemination of the feast of the Conception, is known to have written lessons or discourses, a rhythmic prayer, 'historiam [...] et solemnes ymnos' at the request of Warinus, dean of Worcester and Simon, Bishop of Worcester (1125 - 1150) for the celebration of a feast of Saint Anne at that centre in 1137, A. C. Baugh, 'Osbert of Clare and the Sarum Breviary', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 106 - 113 (p. 108). The discourses and hymns have survived in the twelfth century manuscript British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. XVII, Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, p. 199. London, British Library Harley 863, a Gallican Psalter written at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century and possibly a donation by Bishop Leofric in 1072 commemorates Anne on folio 110v, line 274, where a later hand (second half of the twelfth century) has added 'Sancta Anna ora', Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, p. 199. Reading Abbey owned a relic of Saint Anne by the end of the twelfth century, apparently something, 'Item de sepulchro eius' (something from her tomb) and a feast of Anne was being kept at Shrewsbury by this date. There is reference to this relic in London, British Library MS Egerton 3031, f. 7r, R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1993), p. 75. Evidence of a feast to Anne observed at Shrewsbury can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 1225 which contains the *Martyrologium of Saint Chad*. On f. 83 an entry in a late twelfth century hand has been added to the calendar. It reads, 'Natale Sanctissime Anne gloriose genetricis semper virginis Marie.', P. A. Newton, *The County of Oxford. A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. Great Britain*, I (London : Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 32.

⁹⁰. The *Chronicles of Evesham* report that the prior there established a chapel dedicated to Anne before 1229. Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 21. King cites fourteen fourteenth-century English calendars, the majority of which date before 1340, which contain a feast of Saint Anne. King, *Liturgies*, p. 315. Unfortunately, King does not provide any details of these manuscripts. Three feasts : a feast of Saint Anne, most probably the feast of Mary's Conception and the feast of Mary's Presentation, were ordered to be observed in the Collegiate church of Ottery Saint Mary, Exeter, in 1339 by John Grandisson. R. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in later Medieval England* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 2 and 109.

⁹¹. A. C. Baugh states that Urban V formally established the feast of St. Anne in England, 'Osbert of Clare, the Sarum Breviary and the Middle English Saint Anne in rime royal', *Speculum* 7 (1932), 106 - 113 (p. 107). Urban VI is identified as the pope by both King, *Liturgies* p. 315 and Wendy Scase, ' St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin. Literary and Artistic Traditions and their

Implications' in *England in the Fourteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed., Nicholas Rogers (Stamford : Paul Watkins, 1993), 81 - 96 (p. 83).

⁹². There is some confusion over the date establishing the feast. Pamela Sheingorn gives the earliest date of 21 November, 1376 in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 21. Pfaff gives the latest date of 1383 in *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 3. Both link the establishing of the feast with Richard II's marriage to Anne of Bohemia. Scase gives the year as 1381, 'St. Anne and the education of the Virgin', p. 83, again linking it to the royal marriage. King gives both the title of the bull, *Paternae Glorae*, and suggests a date of 21 June, 1381, *Liturgies of the Past*, p. 315. Richard and Anne's marriage took place in January 1382 and if the bull predated it at some point in 1381, it would have had time to achieve the effect for which both Pfaff and Scase think that it was intended, to honour the marriage and ameliorate the English acceptance of the unpopular Queen Anne.

⁹³. Much the same type of confusion as existed around the Feast of the Conception surrounds the re-emergence of the feast of the Presentation. Southern has dated the introduction of this feast in the West to 1372 and credited this to Philippe Mézières, returning crusader and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cyprus. Pfaff provides these details in *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 104 - 5. He admits that observance of the feast of the Presentation, especially in England, was not totally unknown before Mézières' activities. English celebration of this feast had been established long before 1372. The feast appears to have survived in much the same way as did the feast of the Conception. Its later medieval celebration is owed to its quiet survival in Benedictine houses after the Conquest. Pfaff states that knowledge of this feast spread slightly during the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 104 - 6. Its observance appears to have been muted from the twelfth century until it was made a 'new feast' in 1472 as a result of Pope Sixtus IV's Marian devotion, Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 104 - 6.

Chapter Two

And seynt Marie his moder, as Mathew bereth witnesse,
Was a puyre pore mayde and to a pore man ywedded.
Piers Plowman C text, Passus XII, l. 131 - 2.

We sal begin at sir Ioachim,
þat fader was o þat mari
þat was þe gat of vr merci,
And at his wijf þat hight anna [...]
Cursor Mundi, Cotton Vesp. A iii. MS, ll. 10145 - 7

Medieval English Representations of the Holy Marriages

The medieval faithful understood Mary to have been a married woman and with the opening of the central Middle Ages, Marian worship acquired a new accretion: devotion to Mary as a wife. This devotion voiced an hitherto unexpressed level of enthusiasm for and interest in the circumstance and form of the marriage of Mary. A corpus of English written and pictorial survivals, peculiar to the period 1200 - 1540, make reference to Mary's marriage and a number of artefacts portray the actual wedding ceremony. The extent, scope and provenance of the portrayals suggest that interest in Mary and Joseph's marriage was neither parochial nor localised but was a devotion which appeared throughout England. Although, as we shall see, this interest in Mary's marriage had its roots in the theology of the early Church Fathers and was further developed particularly by the canon lawyers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it did *not* find devotees within the cloister; for monks and nuns, their interest lay in the parallels between Mary's early life in the Temple *before she was married* and their own cloistered existence. As we have seen, prior to the thirteenth century learned clerics venerated Mary's virginity and virtually ignored contemplation of her marriage. Their lack of interest in Mary's married status can be illustrated by their praise of Mary as *sponsa innupta*, following the anonymous Greek *Hymnus Akathistos*.

Saint Anne did not feature in their spirituality, except as the recipient of Mary as Immaculate Conception. Devotion to Mary as wife was an aspect of lay spirituality. A number of the representations of Mary as wife were either created for or commissioned by laywomen and each artefact, by its very nature, *had the capacity* to reach a lay female or mixed audience. The majority of the written works appear in the vernacular, suggesting an audience wider than merely those skilled in Latin. The surviving illustrations of Mary's marriage are evidence of a strong lay attachment to Mary as a wife throughout England in the central Middle Ages, which has, hitherto, remained unexplored.

Mary was not the only holy wife to inspire devotion in the Middle Ages. Her mother, Saint Anne, was also known to have married not only Joachim, Mary's father, but on his death to have remarried and on the death of her second husband, to have remarried once more. As we shall see, devotion to Anne and her multiple marriages was also a facet of late medieval devotion.

When English artisans depicted the holy marriages, they did not do so without precedent but drew upon Western versions of narratives of the holy marriages which had been circulating in the East, the earliest of them since the second century when Christianity was still struggling to establish itself. As shall be demonstrated, these Eastern narratives of the holy marriages were known in England, possibly as early as the eighth century. The celebration of Mary's marriage was, as we shall see, reinvented to serve a later culture and its needs.

The Apocryphal Gospels : sources of the narrative of Mary and Anne's marriages

The narratives which tell of Mary's parents, her early life, betrothal and marriage are to be found in works known as Apocryphal Gospels.¹ This study has

confined itself to those apocrypha which meet the following criteria : (i) the original language was either Greek or Latin, or a Greek or Latin translation was extant, thus making the work accessible to the West; (ii) version(s) of the apocryphon were available in England both before and throughout the period 1200 - 1540.²

The earliest of these apocrypha is the *Book of James*, subsequently called *The Protevangelion*. It was composed in Greek and over one hundred Greek manuscripts have survived, the earliest dating from the third century.³ Its dating cannot be precise, although a terminus post quem can be established. Cullmann argues that the *Protevangelion* cannot have been written before 150 C.E. and suggests that chapters one to twenty, which deal with Mary's birth and childhood, belong to this period.⁴

A second apocryphon provides more details of the Holy marriages. The work is known by a number of titles : the *Liber de Infantia* (sc. of both Mary and Jesus) or the *Historia de Nativitate Mariae et de Infantia Salvatoris*, *The Liber de Ortu beatae Mariae* or more commonly following Tischendorf, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*.⁵ As they describe Mary's early life, betrothal and marriage, chapters 1 - 17 are of interest to this study. The *Pseudo-Matthew* was compiled possibly in the eighth or ninth century, although Clayton, following Amann and Gijssels, has suggested the text is as early as some point between 550 and 700 but that the earliest extant manuscript was written before 825.⁶ The *Pseudo-Matthew*, as shall be demonstrated, was the apocryphon which was most influential in disseminating the details of Mary's marriage in England throughout the Middle Ages.

The final apocryphon which was to prove influential for medieval artisans in their portrayal of the Holy marriages was the Latin *Evangelium de Nativitate*

Mariae or the *Story of the Birth of Mary*.⁷ Clayton has suggested that the *Evangelium* is a shortened version of *Pseudo-Matthew* made during the Carolingian period or later.⁸ The apocryphon was believed in the Middle Ages to have been written by Saint Jerome.⁹ Its significance for this study lies in its deliberate omission of Joseph's sons of his former marriage (present both in the *Protevangelion* and *Pseudo-Matthew*), thus presenting Joseph as an unmarried man before he married Mary.

Thus, the second century *Protevangelion* engendered both the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Evangelium*. The dates at which the latter two texts were produced demonstrate an ongoing and growing interest in Mary in the West.¹⁰ Collectively, the *Protevangelion*, *Pseudo-Matthew* and *Evangelium* provide the following synoptic narrative of the Holy marriages. Any variants between the versions and their significance for later Mariology have been noted¹¹ :

Anne/a, the daughter of Ysachar of the tribe of Judah, married Joachim, also of the tribe of Judah^a, when he was twenty years old.^b They lived childless for twenty years. Joachim was very rich but his customary offering of his gifts to the Temple was refused by Reubel/Reuben^c because of Joachim's childlessness (Joachim is found to be the only one of the twelve tribes of Israel who has not produced children). As a result, Joachim fled to the hills to fast for forty days and nights, declaring that he would not return until God had visited him. Joachim remained with his flocks for five months. Anne/a did not know of Joachim's whereabouts.

Believing him dead, Anne/a bewailed her widowhood and cursed her childlessness. Anne/a was advised by her servant Judith/Euthine^d to stop mourning and was given a headband by the girl. Anne/a refused it, believing herself already humbled by God and tempted further to pride in this gift. Anne/a put on her wedding dress and walked in the garden. Sitting beneath a laurel tree, she begged God to bless her with a child, as He did Sarah with Isaac. On seeing a nest of sparrows, Anne/a lamented her childlessness. An angel appeared and told Anne/a that she would have a child who would be spoken of in the whole world.^e Anne/a promised that if she had a child, male or female, she would bring it as a gift to God to serve Him all the days of its life. Anne/a took to her bed for a day and a night through fear^f

Two messengers came to Anne/a to tell her of Joachim's approach with his flocks.^g He too had been visited by an angel who told him that Anne/a shall/has conceive/d a girl.^h On hearing this, Joachim ordered a sacrifice : ten lambs for God, twelve calves for the priests and elders and a hundred kids for the people. He took thirty days to return.ⁱ He and Anne/a met at the Golden Gate^j of the Temple, where Anne/a embraced him, saying that she knew she was blessed because she was no longer a widow and will/has conceive/d.^k

After her months/ six months^l were passed, in the seventh/ninth month^m Anne/a gave birth and asked the midwife the child's gender. Anne/a was told that the child was a girl and that Anne/a's soul was magnified that day. Anne/a was purified after childbirth and she suckled the

child whom she called Mary.

Mary grew well and was able to walk after six months. When Mary was three, Joachim ordered all of the Hebrew virgins to light Mary's way to the Temple so that she might not look back. Accompanied in this way, Mary was taken to the Temple where Anne/a and Joachim left her in the service of God. Mary ascended the Temple steps unaided. Mary lived in the Temple conversing with angels and was fed on manna.ⁿ

At the age of twelve/fourteen^o, Mary was required to marry, as were all of the Temple virgins, in order that they not pollute the Temple with the onset of menstruation. The High priest, Abiathar/Zacharius offered many gifts that Mary might marry his son but she refused, saying that she had vowed perpetual virginity.^p A council was called to decide what had to be done and the High priest went to the Holy of Holies to pray, to discover who should take charge of Mary. An angel instructed the priest to assemble all the widowers^q of the people, who were to bring rods. Mary would be wife to whomsoever the Lord gave a miraculous sign. Having assembled the men, the priest gathered in the rods but there was no sign, so he returns them.^r Joseph received the last rod, out of which a dove flew and landed on his head.^s The priest indicated Joseph was to be Mary's husband but Joseph refused, arguing that he was old, that he already had sons^t and that Mary was a young girl. Joseph was afraid that he become the laughing stock of the children of Israel. Joseph submitted only when the High Priest warned him of the fate of others who had dared disobey God's command.

Joseph took Mary into his care and stipulated that a group of virgins accompany Mary whilst Joseph went away to erect buildings.^u Mary and her companions spent their time weaving the Temple veil. The Annunciation and the Visitation to Elizabeth took place, after which Joseph returned to find Mary six months' pregnant. Joseph believed himself at fault for failing to protect Mary and believed himself deceived.^v He accused Mary of forgetting God and humiliating her soul. Mary protested her innocence but as in the Matthew account, Joseph resolved to put Mary away privately but was prevented from doing so by an angelic dream.^w Mary's pregnancy was reported to the priest by Annas the Scribe and Joseph was accused of secretly consummating their marriage. The high priest ordered Mary and Joseph to return to the Temple and drink the waters of conviction to manifest their sins. Mary and Joseph were sent separately into the wilderness and both returned whole and well.^x This proclaimed their innocence and they returned home.

The events leading up to the Nativity then follow. During her labour, Mary was assisted by a midwife, who, having seen the birth, proclaimed that a virgin had given birth. Salome did not believe this and examined Mary for proof. Her hand withered and was cured only after she had touched Christ.^y The Holy family then fled Herod's persecutions and went to Egypt.

The salient points concerning Anne and Mary's marriage which can be drawn from the apocrypha are as follows; Anne and Joachim were happily married but childless for twenty years, Joseph was much older than Mary and had been previously married when he reluctantly took her as his bride (Mary was aged either twelve or fourteen). There is no description of the actual ceremony given.

Marian Apocrypha in England : Latin copies and vernacular translations

There is ample evidence to demonstrate that the narratives within the Latin

Pseudo-Matthew and to a lesser degree, the *Protevangelion* and the *Evangelium* were known of in Pre-Conquest England.¹² The narratives were frequently used as the readings for the sermon on the feast of Mary's Nativity but were not, as yet, available in the vernacular. In the decades following the Norman Conquest, Latin extracts of the *Pseudo-Matthew* are more numerous. An eleventh century Worcester manuscript, the multi-volume legendary or collectar of saints' lives called the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*,¹³ written in Latin and intended for public or private reading, has as its entry for the feast of Mary's Nativity an extract from the *Pseudo-Matthew*.¹⁴ The number and distribution of the English copies of this Northern France/Flanders legendary suggests that at least an extract of the Latin *Pseudo-Matthew* was known in late tenth century, certainly at Worcester and possibly elsewhere, but that it was not widely disseminated until a century later.¹⁵

Material ultimately deriving from the Greek *Protevangelion* is also to be found in an eleventh century manuscript written in England.¹⁶ More significantly in terms of the development of lay Marian devotion and interest in her marriage, is the Old English translation that was made, probably originally at Worcester, in the late eleventh century of the first twelve chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew*. It is these chapters which contain the narrative of Mary's marriage.

Vernacular translations of the first twelve chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew* survive in three homiliaries of the late eleventh and twelfth century.¹⁷ The date of the manuscripts suggest that this project was carried out during the period of the Benedictine reform, to provide a reference work through which that centre could instruct secular clergy in the regulations and the calendar of the Church and in their duties as clergy. Devotion to Mary may have developed in the cloister, but by the eleventh century it was an aspect of lay piety, and so a vernacular

translation of those apocryphal narratives on which the celebration of the feasts of Mary's Nativity, Conception and Presentation were based, was required. It seems probable that a vernacular translation of the *Pseudo-Matthew* was made to fit into this schema.¹⁸

Copies of the Marian apocrypha continued to be produced. A Latin version of the *Protevangelion* appears to have been available in thirteenth century England and they were reproduced until the close of the Middle Ages.¹⁹ From the late eleventh century onwards, the apocryphal narratives would have been more familiar to the laity, either through the readings for the feast of Mary's Nativity or through a vernacular translation of *Pseudo-Matthew*, or a Latin translation of the *Protevangelion*. These narratives were the source, ultimately, for the representations of the Holy Marriages which we are now to examine.

From the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, a variety of visual representations and written works giving details of the Holy marriages was produced on the Continent. They were also produced in England between 1200 and 1540. In order to contextualise the latter, it is necessary to examine briefly a selection of the former. I have examined in greatest detail those European works which became known in England.

Medieval Continental Representations of Mary and Joseph's Marriage and the marital history of Anne

The work of Schiller on medieval continental Marian iconography has demonstrated that the marriage of Mary is a relatively frequent image in the visual arts. These representations appear from the tenth century onwards but are most numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and produced primarily in France, Italy and Germany.²⁰ (See *Appendix One* for visual arts and *Appendix Two* for written works.) Many written works simply describe the selection process

of Joseph as husband and conclude with a brief statement that he and Mary then married, as do their apocryphal sources. In a departure for which there is no precedent in the apocrypha, European medieval iconography may depict an actual wedding ceremony, often a the priest joining Mary and Joseph's hands. Sometimes but rarely, Joseph gives Mary a ring. This ceremony can take place in front of witnesses, either inside or outside of a church. Joseph is usually portrayed as an old man. Visual representations of Mary and Joseph's wedding appear in a variety of locations and media, in those designed for public display, such as frescoes, mosaics, stained glass and paintings and in private contexts such as Books of Hours and hagiographic texts, although the latter are rarer in Schiller's work perhaps because they were not her focus rather than because they did not exist.

Medieval Continental Written Representations of Mary and Joseph's marriage

Some of the written versions of the apocryphal narratives were copies of the apocryphal gospels themselves.²¹ From the tenth century onwards, however, contemporary written works mentioning the Holy marriages began to appear in Europe. All of them draw on one or more of the Marian apocrypha and to a greater or lesser degree, the writings of the Church Fathers. Although they mention the *fact* of Mary's marriage, they do not, however, pay attention, to the marriage ceremony. I shall discuss briefly only those written works which became known in England.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, a Latin life of Mary appeared, which was an important link in the chain of Marian lives produced in Europe, and which received a fairly wide circulation from the twelfth century onwards. This Latin life was written at some point before 1172, the date of Werner the Swiss'

German Marian life for which it was the chief source.²² The Latin life was written by a well educated but now anonymous cleric and is called the *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*.²³ The poem would seem to have a German provenance but this type of literature was common in the Austrian/German/Swiss region.²⁴ The *VBVMSR* was well known in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and reached England at the close of the thirteenth or start of the fourteenth century.²⁵ Again, it reproduces largely only those details of the Holy marriages to be found in the apocrypha. Book I (ll. 1 - 1478) presents the relationship of Joachim and Anna, the birth of Mary, her early life in the Temple and her marriage to Joseph when she is fourteen.²⁶ In his portrayal of Mary's betrothal in Book I, the writer does make an innovative departure from the apocryphal sources, as many young men wish to marry Mary who is described as having blonde hair and blue eyes (Book I, l. 665 ff.). Mary's age at marriage (fourteen) suggests that the author either knew directly or indirectly a version of the *Pseudo-Matthew* or the later *Evangelium*. In another original departure, the writer includes sections devoted to the commendation of Joseph as a spouse for Mary, Joseph's prayer when he knows he and Mary are to be joined in marriage and Mary's prayer when she learns of the marriage.²⁷

The form of the *VBVMSR*, with its rhyming couplets and division into book comprising headed sections, suggests that it could have been intended for oral performance which utilised the division of the text and the aural device of the couplet as an *aide mémoire*. That it is in Latin implies that it was composed for a cloistered audience of either gender. Indeed, the representation of Mary's early life in the Temple constructs an image that replicates the life of a twelfth century nun and may suggest that the *VBVMSR* was written for cloistered women.

In the thirteenth century there is an increase in Europe in the production of Marian lives which take the apocrypha as their starting point and which provide details of the Holy marriages. I include two examples. In the mid-thirteenth century, around 1244, Vincent of Beauvais in Northern France, wrote the *Speculum Historiale*, which draws on but does not deviate from both the *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Evangelium*.²⁸ The work is in 143 chapters and is a compilation of narrative and commentary on the life of Mary, intended for communal reading in refectories and elsewhere.²⁹

One of the most important and influential continental sources was written at the close of the thirteenth century, between the 1260s and 1290. The Dominican, Jacobus de Voragine wrote of both of the holy marriages in his *Legenda Aurea*,³⁰ a long, Latin prose work which was written in France and much copied throughout Europe during the medieval period. It was translated into a number of European languages including Middle English.

In the entry for 8 September, the Nativity of Mary, Joseph, described as an old man, is selected as Mary's husband by the now familiar flowering rod/alighting of the dove. Mary and he marry 'offstage' as it were, as we return to the narrative, 'Once the espousals were accomplished.'³¹ Voragine used the *Evangelium* as his source, as in his description of the contents of the angel's message to Anne, Anne is told that she will give birth to a girl called Mary, details which are absent from the *Pseudo-Matthew*. Most significantly for this study, Voragine also includes additional apocryphal material about Anne. At the opening of the entry for Mary's Nativity, Voragine informs his audience that Anne has a sister called Hismeria and that Anne was married three times; first to Joachim from which marriage Mary was born, then after Joachim's death she

married Joseph's brother, Cleophas and produced Mary Cleophas and finally Anne married Salomas and bore Mary Salomas. Each Mary produced significant figures in God's salvific schema; The Virgin Mary bore Christ, Mary Cleophas James the Less, Simon, Joseph (or Barnabas) and Jude, Mary Salome James the Greater and John the Evangelist. Saint Anne's matriarchal lineage was impressive as her family tree (according to Voragine) demonstrates. On her marriage to Ephraim, Hismeria bore Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist and a son Eliud, who was the ancestor of Saint Servatus, Bishop of Maastricht in the fourth century. Having described the complex genealogy, de Voragine includes a mnemonic verse.³²

The purpose of the genealogical detail stemming from Saint Anne was to safeguard the perpetual virginity of Mary. The troublesome existence of Jesus' 'brothers and sisters' (mentioned in Matthew 12 : 46, Mark 3 : 31 and Luke 19 : 21) who had so worried the early patristic writers, could be explained away as the offspring of Anne's second and third marriages and thus as Jesus' cousins (first suggested by Jerome.)³³ Although the source of this additional apocryphal material is unclear, Ashley and Sheingorn identify it as a Western creation and credit the mid-ninth century French biblical commentator Haymo of Auxerre with the creation of this family tree.³⁴

The three marriages of Anne, or the *Trinubium*, was not an explanation of the existence of Christ's brothers that was universally accepted: it aroused great controversy in the twelfth century.³⁵ Those who accepted the *Trinubium* became known as *Salomites* because they took Salome of Mark 15 : 40 and 16 : 1 to be a man (Anne's third husband and father of Mary Salome). In contrast, *Anti-Salomites* refuted the narrative, probably because of the threat it posed to the Immaculate Conception to which, as we have seen, the English had been

particularly devoted since the twelfth century. Many English clerics were *Anti-Salomites*, for example Herbert of Bosham, who dismissed the *Trinubium* as *fabula*.³⁶ Their resistance to the narrative, however, did not mean that it was unknown in England, thanks to the popularity of the *Legenda Aurea*.

At the opening of the fourteenth century two Latin works which include Mary's marriage were created ; the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (the *MVC*)³⁷ around 1300 and a decade later, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (subsequently *SHS*)³⁸ around 1310 - 1324. Both of these are seminal texts in the dissemination of the fact and justification of the Holy marriages, respectively, in England.

The *MVC* is a Latin, prose work of sixty-three chapters which, Horrall believes, was written by a Franciscan, whom Sargent identifies as Johannes de Caulibus, a friar of the Franciscan foundation of San Gimignano in Tuscany, Italy.³⁹ In the Middle Ages the work was attributed to the Franciscan Saint Bonaventure (1221 - 1274). As we shall see, the work was known in England.⁴⁰ Of Mary's marriage little is said except that Mary married Joseph when she was fourteen, by divine revelation.⁴¹ The focus of this text is Mary's life in the temple and how she used to live, according to Saint Jerome, by a religious rule.⁴² This focus may indicate that the original intended audience was one of religious novices, possibly nuns. That it was intended for religious women was certainly the belief of one of the *MVC* translators, Nicholas Love, who states in the prologue to his Middle English translation, that Saint Bonaventure wrote the *MVC* for a religious woman.⁴³ The way in which the work was illustrated is of particular interest. One copy, made in Paris in the second half of the fourteenth century, has an illustration of Mary and Joseph's wedding. Joseph, an old man who holds a

flowering staff on which a dove has alighted, places a ring on Mary's finger. Mary's hand is proffered by Joachim. Joseph is surrounded by a group of men and Mary by a group of women. (See *Appendix One*, item x) Whilst the flowering rod and dove belong to the apocryphal narrative, here the illustrator has completed the details of Mary's parents and her marriage, absent from its source and from the text of *MVC* and demonstrates a willingness on the part of creators to significantly alter their source material.

The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* is a long, Latin poem written between 1310 and 1324, probably by a Dominican and possibly in either Germany, Austria or Bologna.⁴⁴ It is important to our study because it too was translated into Middle English as the *Mirour of Man's Saluacion*, in the fifteenth century and it marks a departure from the Marian lives hitherto discussed, in terms of its audience. The *SHS* was written with a secular audience, albeit a Latinate one, in mind.⁴⁵

Chapters 3 to 42 present the life of Christ from his birth to his ascension, embedded within which is the life of the Virgin.⁴⁶ Although neither the process of selecting Joseph as husband nor the wedding ceremony is described, mention of Mary's marriage is prefaced by eight reasons why Mary and Joseph married, far more than those listed by the Church Fathers and which will be discussed later. The audience for the *SHS* would have been both clerical and lay and signals a widening of appeal of the details of Mary's life, of which details of her marriage was part.

Medieval Continental Iconographic Representations of Anne and Joachim's Marriage

At the end of the Middle Ages there occurred an explosion of veneration of Saint Anne, particularly in the Low Countries and the Rhineland. One aspect of this veneration was a devotion to Anne as a wife, which found expression in

pictorial representation (See *Appendix One*). Consistently, and in a departure from the apocrypha, Anne and Joachim are portrayed as having a contemporary wedding ceremony.

In 1501, Rumold von Laupach of the Brotherhood of Saint Anne commissioned sixteen pictures from a master in Brussels as an altarpiece for the Brotherhood.⁴⁷ The retable consists of two wings each containing eight pictures. On the inner side of the left-hand wing there is a picture of Anne and Joachim's engagement and one of their wedding.⁴⁸ The illustration of the wedding shows a sumptuously dressed (and in the case of Anne crowned) Anne and Joachim clasping right hands, before a bishop who binds their hands with his stole in the presence of witnesses (women behind Anne and men behind Joachim). The ceremony takes place outside an elaborate church door.

On a panel in the Church of Saint Salvador in Bruges, in the centre above the birth of Anne, one may see the wedding ceremony of Joachim and Anne by a now anonymous master, painted at the close of the fifteenth century. As with the Frankfurt retable, a wealthily dressed Anne and Joachim (here both are nimbed) are depicted being married in a public ceremony before witnesses (men behind Joachim and women behind Anne) and at the moment of handfasting, the binding of the right hands. In the Bruges panel, the couple are married inside a church building and the celebrant is portrayed as a Jewish high priest.

Continental Written Lives of Saint Anne

As with her daughter, the life of Saint Anne was celebrated not only in art but also in the written word. A series of works were written and published at the close of the fifteenth century telling of the life of Saint Anne. Their provenance is the Low Countries and Germany and we are fortunate to know the names of two key

figures in the promotion of the veneration of Saint Anne via the written word. Significantly for this study, Anne's marriages are central to these productions and mark a move away from the use of the *Protevangelion*, *Pseudo-Matthew* and *Evangelium* as sources, to use De Voragine's material and an unidentified, fifteenth century Dutch apocryphal life of Anne which included the lives of *her* parents. It is unlikely that these lives of Anne were known in England but they are included in this study as they demonstrate how Anne was the focus of devotion as a *married saint* in the Low Countries.⁴⁹

Two important Latin lives of Anne were written by a North Netherlandish secular priest called Jan van Denemarken (d. 1545).⁵⁰ In 1491 *Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempen vander heylicher vrouwen Sint Annen* appeared in Antwerp (Belgium) without mention of its author or translator and was reprinted five times in the period up to 1497.⁵¹ In 1499, *Die historie van Sint-Anna* appeared in Zwolle (The Netherlands) with mention only of the name of the translator, Wouter Bor and enjoyed great success, being reprinted well into the nineteenth century.⁵²

Van Denemarken's *Life* included the *Trinubium* or three marriages of Anne which had been known of since the *Legenda Aurea* or before, but included also attention to the mother of Saint Anne, Saint Emerentia(na) and to her husband Stollanus. According to Brandenburg, the addition of Anne's parents was a phenomenon from the close of the fifteenth century.⁵³ Van Denemarken discusses Anne's three marriages in both works but his emphasis is different in each case. In *Die Historie, die ghetiden* all three of Anne's marriages are discussed, with the author continually defending Anne's decision to marry.⁵⁴ Van Denemarken offers the following explanation for Anne's two marriages after that to Joachim; Anne

knew that she was still fertile and calculated that even after having been infertile for twenty years she was still easily able to have three children. When Anne observes she is no longer fertile she thinks it neither 'seemly', nor honest nor godly to enter into further marriages and so remains a widow.⁵⁵

In *Die historie van Sint-Anna* far less attention is paid to Anne's three marriages but the life includes many moral tales of how Anne offered special protection to married people.⁵⁶ It would seem in this life, that the writer is proffering evidence of how Anne's experience of multiple marriages made her an ideal (and successful) spiritual protector of those who married.

The Carthusian Pieter Dorlant (Petrus Dorlandus; 1454 - 1507) of Zelem near Diest wrote two lives of Anne, one in Latin and one in Middle Dutch and was involved in a third work on this subject.⁵⁷ His work *Historia perpulchra de Anna sanctissima* appeared in Antwerp in around 1490, his second work, the *Historie van Sinte Anna, moeder Marie* in Antwerp in 1501 and the third work in which Dorlant was involved, the *Legendae Sanctae Annae*, appeared in Louvain in 1497.⁵⁸ Because of the repeated addresses to 'sisters,' Brandenburg believes that the *Historie van Sinte Anna* was written for nuns.⁵⁹ As with Van Denemarken's *Die Historie, die ghetiden*, in Dorlant's works we are given concise information about Anne's parents, her three marriages and her virtuous life.⁶⁰ Like Van Denemarken, Dorlant too takes great pains to defend Anne's three marriages and Brandenburg's paraphrase of the passage merits quotation in full; Initially she wants to remain a widow [...] and that is entirely in accordance with the will of God. However, an angel proclaims that Anne should marry again. That is to say she should bear still more fruit to the glory of God. That is why she remarries even despite her advanced years according to Dorlant. He points to examples from the Old Testament such as Sarah and Rebecca. He is remorselessly critical of those people who dare to cast doubt on Anne's holiness. In his opinion this results from their own depravity. His principal argument for Anne's three marriages is that Anne belongs among the women of the Old Testament to whom other laws applied.⁶¹

This suggests that Anne's multiple marriages had raised a few eyebrows and so

they were justified; Anne's remarriage is sanctioned (and sanctified) by God via an angelic visitation as a means to further glorify Him. Anne's fecundity is not without Biblical precedent and it is those who criticise her multiple marriages, not Anne herself, who are at fault. It is clear from the number of lives written and reproduced in the Low Countries and Germany at the close of the fifteenth century, that Saint Anne and her multiple marriages was held in high regard.

To sum up : Mary's life was written and re-written. A life of Mary was considered appropriate reading for both genders. A description of Mary's early life in the Temple reads like the life of a nun and can be found in *VBVMSR* and *MVC*. That this would be appropriate reading for cloistered women is without question but this section of Mary's life in the Temple was not excluded from those Marian lives produced for a male audience; the redaction of the *VBVMSR*, the *NVCBMVPAS*, includes these details. Mary's poverty, chastity, obedience and charity could and should be replicated by all. The fact of Mary's marriage was known throughout Northern Europe during the Middle Ages. Although they mention the fact of Mary's marriage, significantly, none of these written lives dwell on Mary's marriage nor the form that its celebration takes; this would not have been appropriate for those living cloistered lives. These lives did not remain within the cloister; they became popular also amongst the mendicant orders in whose hands the stories were ultimately destined to be made into preaching material, in an oral, vernacular re-telling to a lay audience. From the thirteenth century, Marian lives became available to lay spirituality, many of whom would have been married, but these lives retained evidence of the original audiences for whom they were composed; the fact of Mary's marriage was often merely mentioned. This is in marked contrast with those visual portrayals which were

destined either to be exhibited in public places such as Churches or which were included in books commissioned by individuals. In visual representations of Mary's life, in a departure from the apocryphal sources, Mary is shown marrying Joseph in the same manner as her medieval audience. In contrast with the written lives of Mary, many of the Anne lives were destined for a lay and therefore presumably married audience and focus on Anne's multiple marriages, the *Trinubium*. In visual representations of Anne's life, her marriage ceremony to Joachim was often depicted. What these written and visual texts demonstrate is that in the central Middle Ages Europe was informed that Mary and Anne had been married women and that they had married according to medieval custom.

Chronological Catalogue of visual and written representations of the Holy Marriages produced in England, 1200 - 1540

As we have seen, the *Protevangelion* and the *Pseudo-Matthew* were drawn on by preachers, teachers and artists throughout Europe from the twelfth century onwards. England was no exception as it too produced written works and illustrations based on the apocryphal accounts of the Holy marriages. (See *Appendices Three and Four*) From the thirteenth century portrayals of Mary's betrothal and marriage ceremony, and from the fourteenth century, depictions of Anne and Joachim's relationship, appear in plastic arts and vernacular narratives. English artisans described and engaged with the Holy marriages in the fabric of their churches, as in stained glass windows, in wall paintings and in the embroidery on priests' vestments. Hagiographic discourse provided those who read and/or listened with details of Anne and Joachim's marriage and the events of Mary's own betrothal and marriage. For those who were wealthy, miniatures and full page illustrations in books and especially Books of Hours also depicted these

events. Although these shall be discussed below in greater detail, in brief, as on the continent, visual representations tend to depict an actual wedding ceremony, whilst the textual versions usually closely follow the wording of their apocryphal sources, with one or two notable exceptions. The English portrayals are slightly later than their Continental counterparts: the earliest English text and artefact both date from the thirteenth century. The earlier date of the Continental examples may be explained by the readier communication between continental Europe and the Byzantine East where the written sources and illustrations of the Holy marriages originated. I have collated these representations and present them below in chronological order.

The English Pictorial Legacy - the thirteenth century

The thirteenth century saw the inclusion of Mary's marriage in the design of stained glass windows. The earliest surviving example of an English Marian marriage portrayal in glass, predates the earliest European example of Our Lady's Church at Esslingen, as described by Schiller⁶² and is to be found in the Rose Window, now called the Dean's Eye, in Lincoln Cathedral. Marks dates this window to some point between the late 1190s and around 1235 but possibly as early as 1220. The window is devoted largely to scenes of the Last Judgement but there are eight surviving panels from the Life and Miracles of the Virgin. In panel D2 Joseph is chosen as Mary's husband by the sign of a dove alighting on his rod. He is portrayed as an older man.⁶³ It contains no more than what is suggested in the apocryphal sources.

There are a number of surviving illustrations of Mary's marriage which appear in a variety of thirteenth century English codices : it seems a notably more popular subject in England than on the continent. The earliest example is an illustration in

a New Testament Picture Book, from around 1200.⁶⁴ In his description of the Picture Book, which he labels number 16, Morgan suggests that it was in the region of Bury Saint Edmunds in the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ The Picture Book contains a number of late twelfth century, full page miniatures of the life and death of Mary. The scenes lack any contemporary text and portray the narratives of the Holy marriages; Joachim and Anne before the high Priest (f. 18^v), the annunciation of Mary's birth to Joachim (f. 19), Anne and Joachim's meeting at the Temple (f. 20^v), Mary's nativity (f. 21), Mary's Presentation at the Temple (f. 22), her life in the Temple (f. 24), Mary's marriage to Joseph (f. 25^v), after which follow the events of the Nativity. Unfortunately, I have been unable to examine this work.

A group of English *Books of Hours* contain illustrations of the Holy marriages. Produced as personal prayer books for the laity and often made for and owned by women, these *Books* contained the Hours of the Virgin.⁶⁶ They were decorated according to personal taste, the quality and number of illustrations reflecting the wealth and status of the commissioner. Illustrations of Anne and Mary's marriages are to be found in London, British Library MS Additional 49999, commonly referred to as *The De Brailes Hours* (c. 1240), produced at Oxford and owned by a woman whose name is now lost.⁶⁷ The illustrations of Anne and Joachim's relationship and Mary's marriage appear twice; in the historiated initials of both the Life of the Virgin in the Matins text and in the Life of Christ in the Lauds text. These illustrations are on a background of burnished gold and include Joachim's offering being refused at the Temple and Anne being reproached by her maidservant (f. 1^v), the annunciation of Mary's birth to Anne and Joachim (ff. 3^v and 4 respectively), Joachim and Anne meeting (f.5^v), the

selection of Mary's husband by a flowering rod (f. 9^v), the marriage of Mary and Joseph (f. 10^v) followed by the Annunciation and Nativity. The portrayal of Mary and Joseph's marriage is overlaid on an initial *S* which forms the setting for the image. It represents a departure from the details in the apocrypha for an actual wedding ceremony is depicted ; Mary stands to the left (veiled and wearing a red dress and blue cloak) whilst Joseph (an elderly man with grey hair, wearing a medieval Jewish cap) stands next to her. Both clasp right hands and look right towards a bishop in a blue collared robe over a white alb who blesses the couple.

The Salvin Hours (c. 1270), London, British Library MS Additional 48985, contains a full-page initial *D*, of *Domine Labia mea*, which opens Matins in the Hours of the Virgin (Lord, open thou my lips, Psalm 50, l. 17 Vulgate). The full-page *D* portrays a Tree of Jesse with scenes from the Life of Christ, one of which is the Betrothal of Mary and Joseph (f.1^v). The codex is large in comparison with all other thirteenth-century examples of the genre and is thought by Morgan to have been illustrated by two artists, the first of which is responsible for the Marian illustrations. Morgan argues that Artist I displays characteristics associated with the De Brailes' workshop at Oxford which produced the Hours described above, and suggests the book was intended for a patron outside Oxford, perhaps at Lincoln.⁶⁸

The scenes within the initial *D* are to be read from bottom left, clockwise. Again, the betrothal scene is far more detailed than that in the apocrypha; Joseph stands on the left of the scene, wearing a reddish-brown hooded cloak, with his hands held together (a gesture of prayer ? or acceptance ?). He is a young man and looks at Mary who stands left (wearing a blue dress and nimbus). Mary holds her hands together (again in prayer or acceptance ?). Behind Mary can be seen seven

men (possibly the suitors from the tribe of David ?). Like the De Brailes Hours the initial forms the setting of the image but it differs from the De Brailes Hours in a very important particular; there is no celebrant.

The English Written Legacy - the thirteenth century

As in Europe, English writers did not confine themselves simply to reproducing the earlier apocrypha but sought to be creative (insofar as using an accepted narrative would allow) in the way they compiled and created from these sources. The earliest works confined themselves largely to the details within the apocrypha. It is in the thirteenth century that the earliest text creatively to elaborate the story of the Holy marriages was produced in England - comparable with developments in Europe. The trend, once started, continued throughout the central Middle Ages.

England, like Europe, produced 'free-standing' lives of Mary. In around 1250, the English Franciscan Thomas of Hales wrote, or more correctly compiled, the Latin, prose *Vita Sancte Marie*, a collection of excerpts from earlier Marian writings, whose originality lies in their arrangement and comments upon the material.⁶⁹ Hales' key source for details of the Holy marriages is the *Evangelium* and like his source, Hales says little concerning Mary's marriage; Joseph, portrayed as an old man (there is no mention of his previous marriage), is selected as husband by the sign of the flowering rod and a dove alighting upon it. Mary is then married ' [...] de more celebrato', according to custom.⁷⁰

As with the Continental Marian lives, Hales' *VSM* demonstrates the Friars' interest in Mary's life. Horrall has suggested that Hales may have been writing for an audience of women since the work stresses Mary's humanity and humility, holding her up as a model of patience, obedience and ascetic practices.⁷¹ Although

identification of its audience may now elude us, the use of the Latin *VSM* as both a text for the learned and a source for preaching in the vernacular may be posited, especially as the construction of the text in short chapters, each of which could stand alone as a separate narrative unit, would facilitate such a delivery.

Two other Marian lives have survived from the thirteenth century. One is the Middle English verse narrative, the *Nativity of Mary and Christ* (*NMC*), which appears in a number of manuscripts of the *South English Legendary* (*SEL*) and the other is an English copy of the Latin verse life discussed above, *The Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica* (*VBVMSR*).

Pickering has argued that the *NMC* is one of twelve narrative poems written in septenary verse (a Latin verse form of seven feet) which comprise the temporale or non-hagiological material which accompanies but is not part of the *SEL*.⁷² The *SEL* is a collection of saints' lives, written c. 1275 - 85, from which the *NMC* borrows.⁷³ As the style of both the *SEL* and the *NMC* are similar, Pickering believes the *NMC* was composed not much later than the *SEL* and suggests a date of c.1275 - 1280 for this poem.⁷⁴ The *SEL* was originally a creation from Worcestershire but soon spread south to Gloucestershire, from where most of the manuscripts derive. As the *NMC* is connected with the standard form of *SEL*, Pickering believes that it was composed in the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire area.⁷⁵

Three versions of the *NMC* exist; version (a) is the original which although incomplete is 814 lines long and exists in three manuscripts,⁷⁶ version (b) is an expanded form of (a) and the longest text (856 lines) which survives in one manuscript⁷⁷ and version (c) which is a shortened recension based on version (b) as far as the trial of Mary and Joseph and survives in five manuscripts.⁷⁸

The *NMC* tells of the relationship of Joachim and Anne, the conception of Mary, her presentation and life in the Temple and her marriage to Joseph, as far as Christ in the Temple with the Doctors. The details of Mary and Joseph's marriage follow the apocryphal sources;⁷⁹ Mary marries Joseph (who has been married previously) when she is fourteen. He is selected through the miracle of the flowering rod and at first refuses because of his age and the shame of such a young bride but agrees with the intention of marrying her to his son. The text states that they were married and in a departure from the apocryphal sources, lists a number of reasons *why* they marry. There is no description of the actual ceremony.⁸⁰

Pickering has argued that the *NMC* was composed as a legendary supplement for an audience already familiar with the Gospel story and that the later version (c) more particularly formed the central portion of a composite life of Mary, a function for which it was originally designed to serve.⁸¹ Although Northern Europe produced composite, 'free-standing' lives of Mary, no equivalent of the *NMC*, a vernacular verse narrative designed to accompany a *Legendary*, has yet been published or edited. The *NMC* would appear to be the earliest example of a written Marian life designed specifically for lay consumption.

The Latin *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica* became known in England by the late thirteenth century. The *VBVMSR* is preserved in two English manuscripts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁸² It is probable that the *VBVMSR* reached England at some time at the close of the thirteenth, start of the fourteenth century. Although Vögtlin, does not mention that any of the predominantly German manuscripts of the *VBVMSR* are illustrated, the English copy, London, British Library Additional 29,434 is profusely illustrated

with coloured drawings by three different hands.⁸³ In a departure from the apocrypha and the *VBVMSR* itself, on folio 29^v Mary and Joseph's marriage is depicted where a priest with a tonsured head joins the hands of Mary and Joseph.

The dimensions of Additional 29, 434 and those of London, British Library Additional 18,362, a small quarto of the fourteenth century which also contains a copy of the *VBVMSR*, suggest that the life was used for personal devotion by one skilled in Latin. This, in turn, suggests that in additions to a public oral performance of the verse narrative, as may have been carried out in late, twelfth century Germany, it may have been used as private, individual reading in England at the close of the thirteenth/opening of the fourteenth century.

The English Pictorial Legacy - The Fourteenth Century

We have seen that in the thirteenth century, the marriage of the Virgin is of little concern to artists : a couple of stained glass windows and representations in the wholly private context of Books of Hours and a verse life are all that remain. In the early Books of Hours, however, illustrations of Mary's wedding ceremony begin to appear. In the fourteenth century a greater number of portrayals of Mary and Joseph's wedding ceremony were created and have survived from this period. They do not originate from details given in the apocrypha.

A very early example in a very public context, is to be found in the wall paintings in All Saint's Church, Croughton, Northamptonshire, which have been dated by Tristram and James to around 1300.⁸⁴ On the south wall, a series of pictures depict episodes from the apocryphal life of Mary.⁸⁵ Included amongst them is Mary's marriage to Joseph; Joseph is portrayed as a bearded, older man. Although most of Mary has been effaced, the priest can clearly be seen to be joining Mary and Joseph's hands in a wedding ceremony. (See *figure 2*, p. 99.)

The life of the Virgin (and her mother) were popular subjects for ecclesiastical robes. The Apparel of Albs, now in the V & A, dark, red velvet bands, 165.2 x 26.8 centimetres, are embroidered with coloured silks, silver-gilt and silver thread. They would have been used to decorate the alb or long, white vestment worn by the celebrant of the mass, and bear the shield of arms of an unidentified family called Bardolf. This heraldic device and the costly materials from which they are made suggests that they were personally commissioned by a wealthy family. Made in England c.1320 - 1340, they were originally four in number but only three survive. Of the three, only one alb survives with all of its scenes intact. Its format suggests that originally each alb comprised five scenes and collectively they depicted the life of Mary from her birth to her death. What follows is a reconstruction of what the albs may have portrayed when complete, where letters of the alphabet indicate those scenes which are missing:

Alb One	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	annunciation to Anne	birth of Mary
Alb Two	Mary's presentation at the Temple		Anne teaching Mary to read	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i> <i>f</i>
Alb Three	The Annunciation	Visit to Elizabeth	The Nativity	The Shepherds	The Magi

Using the apocryphal narratives of the life of Mary which, as we have seen, would have been available in some form to the fourteenth century embroiderers, one may reconstruct the missing images as follows :

- a* Joachim's offering is refused in the Temple
- b* Joachim with his flocks
- c* Anne in her garden
- d* Mary's life in the Temple

- e* Marriage of Mary and Joseph, either flowering rod or a wedding ceremony
- f* Mary and the virgins weaving the Temple cloth

The missing fourth Alb probably portrayed the Virgin's death, assumption and coronation to complete the cycle. Whilst we may only conjecture, it seem likely in light of the other survivals from this period and the nature of the surviving images, that image *e* may very probably have shown Mary and Joseph's wedding, with Mary and Joseph holding hands, perhaps before a celebrant.

It is probable that the work was produced by professionals who may have been women, at the behest of the Bardolf family, who would have suggested the design. The apparel of albs can be read as evidence of an aristocratic lay interest in and knowledge of the life of Mary. Although the apparels of albs was not created for the instruction of lay folks *per se*, through its appearance at the performance of the mass on feast days, perhaps those dedicated to Mary herself, it would have been seen by those in contact with the celebrant and thus Mary's story would have been further disseminated.

The *Hours of the Virgin*, London, British Library MS Egerton 2781 (c.1340 - 50), contains illustrations of Anne and Joachim's relationship and Mary's betrothal. These are to be found amongst twenty-three consecutive miniatures illustrating a section of Hours devoted to 'Salutations of the Virgin.'⁸⁶ Freeman Sandler believes that it was created for the man and woman (unidentified) who appear in attitudes of devotion before various sacred figures on ff. 35 and 36.⁸⁷

The marriage of Mary and Joseph appears on f. 10^v. The background is indented gold leaf. A mitred bishop, wearing a red robe with gold patterns, joins the right hands of Mary (standing to left) and Joseph (standing to the right). Behind Mary stands a man and a woman (Joachim and Anne ?) and behind Joseph, two men. Mary wears a red robe and paler pink cloak, is nimbed and

holds up her left hand in a gesture of acceptance (?). Joseph is shown as an older man with grey hair and beard, wearing, like Mary, a red robe and paler pink cloak. He wears also a Jewish cap. Unlike Mary, Joseph appears reluctant to participate in the ceremony as he holds up his left hand as if saying 'no'. A curly headed angel appears from behind the bishop, wagging a finger disapprovingly at Joseph. The handfasting is done over an altar (covered in the same cloth from which the bishop's cope is made) before which stand two small angels. Beneath the miniature is a text which reads;

Aue et gaude uirgo maria
que cum iusto ioseph coniu/
ge et custode per angelum tibi
deputato habitare concordit'
uoluista Ave maria.

Greet and rejoice in the Virgin Mary
who is brought together to live with the just Joseph,
her husband and guardian, through the angel
who was sent to him
You wished to say Ave Maria

It would appear that the illuminator was illustrating Joseph's reluctance to marry Mary, which is reproached in the apocryphal narrative by the bishop who warns Joseph of the fate of others who have disobeyed God's command. In a moment of comic originality, it is a curly headed angel who reproaches Joseph, although the text below assures the reader of Joseph's good reputation.

The English Written Legacy - The Fourteenth Century

In the fourteenth century Mary's life continued to be of interest to those in holy orders. The most striking development in the production of Marian lives, however, is in their growing accessibility to a lay audience. It appears likely that a supply of vernacular Marian lives was created to meet a growing demand for such works.

Those who followed a monastic life were still catered for. Details of the Holy marriages had begun to appear in composite works called *Mariale*, which are collections of texts relating to the Virgin and are of unfixed content.⁸⁸

London, Lambeth Palace 52 is a fourteenth century *Mariale* of unknown provenance, which is divided into two volumes.⁸⁹ James and Jenkins attribute the work within Lambeth 52 called *The Mariale* to the Franciscan, Alexander Hales (c. 1170 - d. 1245 or 1250).⁹⁰ Hales' *Mariale* is a work in six books and functions as a history of Mary from birth until death.⁹¹ Book Four contains that portion of Mary's life which relates her early life in the Temple, dwelling on this in some detail and then detailing her marriage to Joseph and the reasons why they married, followed by Annunciation and Nativity.

Hales' *Mariale* is a compilation and his sources are impressive. For the section concerning Mary's betrothal and marriage the *Pseudo-Matthew* has been used, called *The Book of the Jews* in the list of authors cited on folio 201^r.⁹² Hales does not embellish his apocryphal source by adding a description of a wedding ceremony but does include Origen's (who is cited as source) justification for their marriage.

Hales' thirteenth century *Mariale* was more popular in the fourteenth century and deemed appropriate reading for both male and female religious.⁹³ It is possible that Hales' *Mariale* reached a lay audience through the efforts of the friars but manuscript survivals indicate that it was used largely as individual reading by those following a religious vocation. It is likely that Hales' work as teaching for the laity was superseded by the explosion of vernacular Marian lives which took place from the fourteenth century onwards and which catered for the laity's spiritual requirements.

One such is the Middle English *Cursor Mundi*, a monumental (30,000 lines) verse narrative or biblical paraphrase,⁹⁴ written around 1300,⁹⁵ which includes the Holy marriages in its ambitious sweep. The *Cursor* is unlike anything else Marian

which has survived from Europe in the same period. The poem has survived in four manuscripts.⁹⁶

The poem tells the history of the world from Creation to Doomsday, in chronological sequence, in a literal rather than allegorical fashion. The author tells us why the *Cursor* has been created; for the Beloved One (Mary) to create a lasting work in her honour because she rewards a hundredfold those who honour her (ll. 47 - 110) and to teach men about her kindred (l. 113). The writer tells us that he writes in Middle English for a specific purpose. French rhymes are no good for the English (ll. 239 - 40) and so to instruct the unlearned English and teach idle triflers to be wise, their own tongue must be used (ll. 249 - 256).

As can be seen from the poem's dedication, the devotional emphasis is on the Virgin, as the Prologue announces and her life appears as the Fifth Age of humanity. In so doing, the *Cursor* writer has integrated Mary's life with world history for the first time in Middle English.⁹⁷ The author has used Wace's *L'Établissement* as his source material for details of the life of Anne and Mary which itself uses *Pseudo-Matthew* (see *Appendix Two, item (v)*).⁹⁸ The *Cursor* poet includes the Elsinus / Elsey miracle at the institution of the feast of the Conception, thus bringing Mary's life to a close in England, in the not so distant past and suggesting to his readers/listeners the immediacy and relevancy of Mary's life to them at the very moment in history. The *Cursor* gives details of Mary's conception, birth, early life, betrothal and marriage at fourteen, to Joseph (whose wife is dead and who has sons bigger and older than Mary), who is selected through the miracle of the flowering rod and dove alighting upon it (ll. 10123 - 11175).

From the first quarter of the fourteenth century, poets added to the temporale

material associated with the *SEL*, as discussed above. The earliest fourteenth century addition to this material appears to have been a vernacular poem entitled *The Conception of Mary*. *CM* is 280 lines long and judging from manuscript survivals, was written at some point between 1325 and 1350.⁹⁹ That the poem continued to be copied between 1325x1475 suggests an ongoing popularity and usefulness.

The *CM* is related to the earlier *NMC*, in that after an 84 line prologue, ll. 85 - 280 of the *CM* follow *NMC* ll. 7 - 192 detailing events down to the end of Mary's betrothal. There is line-by-line correspondence between them. Where differences in content appear, these can be explained by the *CM*'s writer's relying on the *Evangelium* rather than *Pseudo-Matthew* as source.¹⁰⁰ The calendrical position of the *CM* in the earliest manuscript in which it is preserved¹⁰¹ suggests that the *CM* was originally associated with the English feast of Mary's Conception on 8 December.¹⁰² As time passed, however, this poem because of its focus on Mary's conception and birth, was considered suitable to be associated with the growing devotion to Saint Anne in England.¹⁰³

At some point between 1350 and 1400, a full scale revision was made of the part of the *NMC* following the betrothal of Mary, that is *NMC*, ll. 193 - 814. What resulted was an 897 line poem now called *The Expanded Nativity (EN)*. This is preserved in one manuscript, British Library, Egerton 1993 (ff. 30^r - 40^r), where it follows on from the *CM* described above. It is included in this study only because it details this apocryphal narrative of Joseph's trouble about Mary's seemingly adulterous pregnancy (ll. 323 - 329 and 473 - 492 in Horstmann's edition).

The final narrative temporale material to be added to the *SEL* during the

fourteenth century is what is now called the *Vernon Life of Mary*. This 836 line poem survives in four manuscripts spanning the period c.1370 - c.1475.¹⁰⁴ Unlike the other narrative temporale poems so far discussed which rely on some form of either *Pseudo-Matthew* or *Evangelium*, the *VL* is closely translated from Wace's twelfth century poem, *La Conception*. Lines 117 - 654 (Wace ll. 179 - 782) tell of Anne and Joachim's relationship, Mary's conception and birth, her life to her betrothal. At this point translation of Wace ends and the poem takes the narrative on to the Crucifixion, to conclude with Mary's life in the Temple after Christ's death. The inclusion of the Elsinus miracle in the poem suggests an interest in the feast of the Conception and devotion particularly to Anne.¹⁰⁵

Between c. 1376 - 1379, John Gower composed the *Speculum Hominis* or *Mirour de l' Omme* or as it was called in its third and final revision by the author, the *Speculum Meditantis*.¹⁰⁶ It is a monumental poem in Anglo-Norman, of some 31,000 words, preserved in Cambridge, University Library Additional 3035. Gower's schema was ambitious. The *Speculum Hominis* gives a complete account of the moral nature of humanity and God's dealings with the human race. Mary is pivotal as mediator between God and humanity. As such, her life appears as the final part of the work, which describes how a sinner may return to God and concludes with prayers and praises addressed to her. Mary's conception, early life, betrothal and marriage to Joseph are described in ll. 27481 - 28128, after which follows the Nativity. Gower's source is the *Legenda Aurea*, which in turn, as we have seen, borrows from the *Evangelium*. As with the *Cursor* writer, Gower informs us for whom he was writing immediately before the section describing Mary's life. The work is for Mary whom he addresses as *ma dame* (as in l. 27469) and written in French, *en langue de romance* (l.27477) for the information of

those without Latin (l. 27479).

At some point in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, a now anonymous Middle English translation was made of Thomas of Hales' thirteenth century *VSM* and called *The Lyf of Oure Lady*.¹⁰⁷ A. Doyle describes these manuscripts in which copies of this translation appear as,

[...] relics of constant reproduction from certain stock exemplars of common constituents, probably in the hands of London stationers, from about the second quarter of the [fifteenth] century. Hardly any two of these volumes are precisely identical supplied for the particular commission from private sources.¹⁰⁸

Mary's life, here a Middle English translation of Hales' *VSM(ME)*, was of enough interest to the laity for them to commission copies of it for personal use; the size of both codices in which the translation is preserved would appear to indicate this usage.¹⁰⁹ How Mary's life was to be used may be suggested by the other works included in the codex; penitence and meditation are key aspects of the other texts included.

The Pictorial Legacy - the Fifteenth Century

The fifteenth century saw the creation of further illustrations in the plastic arts. In 1400, the Whalley abbey orphreys were embroidered for Whalley Abbey, in Yorkshire. The orphrey (decorative band to adorn a priest's stole) is decorated with scenes from the life of Mary, including an image showing Mary and Joseph being married by a priest. Joseph holds out to Mary a ring with a magnificent jewel, as her wedding ring. (see *figure 3*, p. 100.)

In the *Bedford Book of Hours* (c. 1420s), now London, British Museum Additional MS 18850, one may see the selection of Joseph as Mary's husband and a portrayal of their wedding ceremony, in two miniatures in the Matins section of the Hours of the Virgin (f. 32). In the 'selection' scene, Joseph is depicted as an old man with a grey beard, upon whose flowering rod a dove alights and in the

wedding scene, a bishop is shown uniting Mary and Joseph's hands before a crowd of male onlookers.¹¹⁰ The Book was created to commemorate the marriage of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford and Anne of Burgundy, which took place on 13 May, 1423. Both John and Anne appear in their Book accompanied by their patron saints. On f. 257b the Duchess appears kneeling before her patron and namesake, Saint Anne, who is accompanied by Mary whom Anne is teaching to read.¹¹¹

The Holy marriages are to be found in stained glass in this period, continuing a tradition already established for some two hundred years. A sequence depicting twenty-one scenes from the life of Mary is to be found in the east window of Saint Mary's Church, Elland, West Yorkshire. Eleven scenes are as they were in 1450 and these include the annunciation of Mary's birth to Anne, Anne meeting Joachim at the Golden Gate and Mary's betrothal.¹¹²

A more detailed collection of images of Anne and Mary's marriages can be seen in Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire. The windows which contain the Holy marriage portrayals are known to post-date 1440 but ante-date the latest glass, the 'Joys of Mary' window in the north transept, donated by Henry VII in 1501 - 2.¹¹³ The first window in the North Choir Aisle, now called 'The Museum Window', has a series of eight scenes, which are the window's original contents, depicting the life of Mary. The eight tracery lights portray, reading from left to right; the meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, the birth of Mary, the presentation of Mary in the Temple, Mary refusing to wed, the priests asking for a sign, Joseph's rod blossoming and a dove descending upon it, the Nativity and finally, out of sequence, the Annunciation.¹¹⁴ Hamand has suggested that the windows in the north choir aisle (three in number) collectively formed a kind of medieval catechism. The content of the tracery lights of the Museum window,

clearly indicate that a life of Mary was part of this didactic schema for lay folk.¹¹⁵ The height at which these images appear would not preclude such a function for them.

The glazing of the twelve clerestory windows in the nave was not completed until around 1485.¹¹⁶ Yet again, it appears that the Holy marriages were built into the fabric of the Priory Church, although only the marriage of Anne and Joachim survives. This image is unique and survives in no other stained glass from this period. The five windows in the North Nave aisle were filled with a series of small scenes illustrating Gospel history, beginning with story of Anne and Joachim and the birth of Mary. The few illustrations which have survived have been collected and placed, where they would fit, into the fourth window of the aisle. The correct order of the images has been lost as the bottom row (images eleven and twelve respectively) contains the marriage of Joachim and Anne and the Annunciation of Mary's birth to Anne, which should open the sequence. The marriage of Joachim and Anne is shown by a mitred priest joining their right hands. A young man stands behind the bridegroom and a woman behind Anne. Since this window contains also the birth of Mary, the Annunciation, the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, it is highly probable that Mary's early life was once complete and included her presentation at the Temple and her betrothal and marriage to Joseph.

In the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene, Newark, Nottinghamshire, a stained glass window exists in which the suitors of Mary attack Joseph. Dating from the fifteenth century, it is the only known portrayal of this expression of jealousy in English glass.¹¹⁷ Schiller has discovered no continental examples.

Portrayals of the Holy marriages were still being commissioned at the close of

the Middle Ages. An example of the portrayal of the Holy marriages in glass survives in the stained glass window in the Betrothal window of the Lady Chapel of the parish church of Saint Mary's, Fairford, Gloucestershire. (See *figure 1*, p. 98 and description on page 4.) Dating from the close of the fifteenth century, all of the windows at Fairford were commissioned by local merchant, John Tame, as part of his rebuilding of the parish church.¹¹⁸

The Written Legacy - the Fifteenth Century

The popularity of the Holy marriages continues in the fifteenth century. The apocryphal Gospels had continued to be copied.¹¹⁹ There is a proliferation of Marian lives, written exclusively in Middle English. The fifteenth century is also the century in which earlier continental Marian works were translated into Middle English; Johannes de Caulibus' *MVC*, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* and the anonymous *SHS* were all translated during this period. An interest in the Holy marriages as portrayed in Marian hagiography can thus be found to continue throughout the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century does herald a new means of dissemination of details of the Holy marriages - in this century hagiographic lives of Saint Anne start to appear.

A corpus of play texts from the fourteenth century but which survive in later manuscripts¹²⁰ portray incidents from the narratives of Joachim and Anne's relationship, Mary's early life, betrothal and marriage. Two of these plays are pageants within the large cycle plays which chart the history of the world from the Fall of the Angels to the Last Judgement, in which, as was demonstrated in *Cursor Mundi*, Mary was understood to play a pivotal role.¹²¹ The Middle English cycles from York (1376 - 1580) and Towneley (c. 1450 - ? 1576)¹²² each contain a play devoted to Mary and Joseph's marriage; not the wedding ceremony but the

aftermath on discovering Mary to be pregnant. This pageant is called *Joseph's Trouble about Mary* in York while in Towneley these details are included in the play of the *Annunciation*.

A far more detailed presentation which covers the relationship of Joachim and Anne, Mary's Conception, birth, early life, betrothal and marriage are to be found in *The N.town Mary Play*, a single text dating from the fifteenth century, which Meredith has extracted from the group of Mary pageants in the N.town collection and which he believes was composed by a scribe with the N. town pageants and a separate Mary play in front of him.¹²³ (See *Appendix Five, item (i)*) The *N.town Mary Play* is a complete play devoted solely to the life of Mary from her Conception to the Visitation to Elizabeth.

The sources for the Marian marriage material in York, Towneley, N.town pageants and the separate *N.town Mary Play* are based on the apocryphal narratives; York and Towneley use some form of the apocryphal gospels, the N.town pageants and *The N.town Mary Play* do not use these sources directly but draw on them as mediated through the *Legenda Aurea*. The N.town pageants and the *N. Town Mary Play* also use the *MVC*.¹²⁴

The N.town pageants and *The N.town Mary Play* may have originated in East Anglia¹²⁵ and the latter is unlike anything else Marian which has survived either from England or Northern Europe in this period.¹²⁶ The *N.Town Mary play* dramatises events from Mary's conception and birth, her presentation at the temple, her marriage to Joseph complete with an exchange of marriage vows and her visitation to Elizabeth, presenting events in a literal rather than an allegorical fashion. Meredith suggests that the play may have been performed for a Saint Anne's guild in East Anglia.¹²⁷ However, more shall be said of this later.

A new development - Lives of Saint Anne

It is at some point in the fourteenth century that lives of Saint Anne appear, their appearance probably coinciding with the institution of Saint Anne's feast day (26 July) in England in 1381. We do not have any specifically so-called Lives of Anne which have survived from the fourteenth century, only ones which have come down to us in fifteenth century manuscripts. Four Middle English stanzaic versions of a life of Saint Anne have survived in manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Three of these lives of Saint Anne are textually related to one another and will be discussed first.

Of the three related Anne lives, the oldest and longest *Life of Anne (type A)* appears as an insertion in a North English Homily collection written at the close of the fourteenth/start of the fifteenth century. This is not, however, the original version of the poem according to its editor, Parker.¹²⁸ A shorter version (658 lines in rime royal) (*Life of Anne : type B*) which appears to have been composed in the S. E. Midlands can be found in two manuscripts.¹²⁹ A third version (*Life of Anne : type C*) is found in two fifteenth century manuscripts.¹³⁰ Parker believes that the poem may have been written for the Saint Anne's Guild in the parish of Saint Peter at the Skinmarket, Lincoln, which was founded in 1344.¹³¹

Since Parker's edition, however, the life of Anne (*type C*) preserved in Tanner 407 has undergone further examination. Tanner 407 is now commonly entitled *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle*.¹³² The book is now known as belonging to the genre of *Commonplace Books*, that is a personal book in which the owner recorded texts which were relevant / of interest to him (no individual women's *commonplace books* have survived from this period¹³³) and whose contents are essentially accretive.¹³⁴ Its most recent editor, Cameron Louis,

suggests that the book was created between 1470 - 1500.¹³⁵ Louis identifies the codex' owner, compiler and scribe as Robert Reynes (b. post 1430), the fairly prosperous and literate church reeve of Acle (Norfolk), alderman of the guild of Saint Edmund and a participant in a Guild of Saint Anne.¹³⁶ Carol Meale has identified this guild, not as the guild of Saint Anne at Lincoln, but as one much closer to Reynes' home; the guild of Saint Anne at Weybridge Priory, in Acle,¹³⁷ of which Reynes was a member by 1497.¹³⁸ Louis observes that the second quire of Tanner 407 seems to have been compiled for institutional purposes, for it is devoted (from f. 20r) to Saint Anne material and other items related to guild activities.¹³⁹ It is probable also, that because he was literate, Reynes recorded, perhaps intending to decorate and show to his fellow guild members, items concerning Saint Anne that would have been relevant to the guild's devotional practice. Parker has noted that *Type C* (but only Tanner 407) was made for the purpose of celebrating Saint Anne's feast. Harley 4012 alone does not serve this function.¹⁴⁰ Marshall has gone so far as to suggest that the *Life of Anne (Type C)* which appears in Tanner 407 was dramatic, in the sense of being spoken by a number of voices and that it may have been accompanied by a dumb show, Reynes including it in his book because he had to speak all/some of it himself.¹⁴¹ Marshall hypothesises further that the epilogue which has been recorded in Reyne's book (item number 86 in Louis' edition) was written for a specific play, to make it suitable for the *Church ale* at which the preceding play was used to entertain, and that this play may have been none other than the *N. town Mary Play* as described above.¹⁴² We have no way of knowing definitively whether or not the *N. town Mary Play* was indeed the play for whom Reynes recorded the epilogue with which to thank the audience for their 'soferyng sylens that ze han kept þis

day' and for watching the play 'withouwte ony resystens' and for their 'laudabyl lystenynge in good audiens.' (Epilogue, ll. 5-6, 8).

Minnesota Z. 822, N. 81 contains Anne's marriage to Joachim, the conception, birth and early life of Mary, her betrothal and marriage and the life of Jesus up to the time of the calling of the first six disciples. The shorter version in Cambridge 601 and Chetham 8009 contains the lives of Anne and Mary up to and including the birth of Christ. Baugh has demonstrated how a substantial part of the opening of the shorter version (*Type B*, ll. 106-126, 134-182 and 183-245) is heavily indebted to the *Sarum Breviary*.¹⁴³ The poem's writer has, in fact, closely paraphrased the three *lectiones* of the first Nocturne of Matins for Saint Anne's Day in the *Sarum Breviary*, with which to open his poem.¹⁴⁴ Mary's betrothal and marriage is presented differently in all three versions of Anne's life. In *Life of Anne (Type A)* the now familiar elements from the apocryphal narrative are present; Mary is twelve, Joseph is an old widower selected via a rod bearing 'nuts',¹⁴⁵ but in a departure from these sources three reasons are given for the marriage, the marriage is said to have been done 'oppynly' (l.561) and a ceremony is described in which Mary's hand is given to Joseph. *Type B* chooses to omit the apocryphal narrative entirely, simply stating that the marriage was performed lawfully, whilst *Type C* returns to the narrative in *Pseudo-Matthew (A)* but does add four reasons why Mary and Joseph should marry.

A Middle English, verse *Life of Anne* written in rhyme royale, and in 'Suthfolk speche' was composed in around 1447 by Osbern Bokenham. This life, called *The Life of Saint Anne Mother of Saint Mary*, was composed as the second of thirteen lives or *legends* of female saints in a work which has no title in the manuscript but which has been called subsequently *A Legend of Holy Women*.¹⁴⁶

An Augustinian monk from Clare Priory in Suffolk, Bokenham modelled his work on Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and is credited with composing the first all-female hagiography in any language.¹⁴⁷ As with Robert Reynes' *Boke*, the *Legend of Holy Women* was not destined for a mass audience as its genre, length and style would ensure a limited readership and the existence of only a single manuscript confirms this.¹⁴⁸ Its translator, Delaney, has suggested an audience of provincial nobility, gentry, business people and ecclesiastics for the work.¹⁴⁹ Bokenham tells us that he writes the *Life of Saint Anne*, 'to stimulate people's devotion'¹⁵⁰ He dwells on Anne's genealogy, moving on to tell the story of Joachim and Anne from the apocryphal sources; the refusal of Joachim's offering in the Temple, Anne's weeping in her garden, the angelic messages prophesying Mary's birth to Anne and Joachim, their meeting at the Golden Gate, Mary's birth and her presentation at the Temple at the age of three. Concerning Anne's three marriages, Bokenham is clearly aware of the narrative but refuses to expand on it in this particular work,

But how longe aftur I can not seyne
 Ioachym lyued, but wyl know I
 Anne had thre dowghters & iche hyht mary:
 But wheper be oon husbonde or ellys be thre,
 At pis tyme I wil not determyne,
 For in pis mater what best plesyth me
 I haue as I can declaryd in latyn
 In balaade-ryme, wherfore here to fyne
 Seynte annes lyf I fully me conuerte [...] (Bokenham's *Life of Anne*, ll. 2075 - 83)

Unfortunately, the Latin stanzaic verse treatment of Anne and her three daughters has been lost. Bokenham's *Life of Saint Anne* concludes with a prayer from the author that John Denston and his wife Katherine may have a son before they die, as they already had a daughter called Anne, in honour of the saint. More will be said about Katherine Denston and her family later on.

More Marian Lives

An anonymous Life of Mary survives from the close of the fourteenth, opening of the fifteenth century called *The Life of the Virgin Mary and the Christ (LTVMTC)*. It survives in three manuscripts.¹⁵¹ The *LTVMTC* is divided into twenty seven section headings, the first reading 'How Anne conseyued Marie þe moder of ihesu crist,' and the last 'of þe woman take in avowterie'.¹⁵² It closely follows the *Pseudo-Matthew* for the description of Mary's betrothal; Abiathar presides, Joseph is selected as her husband by a dove flying out from his staff and agrees to take Mary as his wife. There is no description of the marriage. The size and content of the Chethams' codex indicate that the *LTVMTC* could have been used for personal and individual devotion.

The Carthusian Nicholas Love completed a Middle English version of the *MVC* in around 1410.¹⁵³ Love's translation is called the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, possibly in response to the vogue at that time for specular productions.¹⁵⁴ He added an explication of the 'Hail Mary' which he inserted into the chapter on the Annunciation, and the 'Ave Maria' prayer. What Love has created in the *Mirror*, according to its most recent editor, Sargent, is a tailor-made form of devotion for the laity, adapted from the *MVC* which, as we have seen, was originally intended for religious novices and women.¹⁵⁵ Love tells us himself for whom he believed he was translating and why he chose what he terms his 'plain style',

[...] simple folk, the which, as children, have need to be fed with milk of light doctrine and not with heavy meat of great learning and high contemplation. (Prologue, p. 2)¹⁵⁶

A third Middle English translation of the *MVC* also exists. (see *Appendix Three, item 19*)

In 1421 - 22 John Lydgate, monk of Bury Saint Edmunds, wrote the *Life of*

Our Lady. The poem is written in rime royal and it enjoyed great popularity during the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁷ This poem too is a compilation, like so many of the Marian lives already discussed. *LOL* was created 'at the excitacion and styrring of our worshipfull prince Kyng Harry the fifthe' in honour of Mary. It may have been commissioned by Henry V in gratitude for the success of his French campaign.¹⁵⁸ Lydgate's life includes details of the Holy marriages of Anne and Mary, all taken from *Pseudo-Matthew*. In one manuscript of Lydgate's *LOL* the text is illustrated. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 596, a manuscript from the last three-quarters of the fifteenth century connected with Westminster Abbey, has a sketch of Mary's marriage to Joseph on folio 96,¹⁵⁹ which is not as described in the poem itself. (see *figure 4*, p. 101).

Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 4122 (ff. 39v-145r), contains a poem of 1678 lines which, according to its editor is only to be found in this manuscript and which has been called *Tretys of Oure Ladye howe sche was wedded*.¹⁶⁰ The manuscript is fifteenth century but the *Treyts* is harder to date accurately.¹⁶¹ Reichl dates the *Treyts* at some point between the thirteenth and fifteenth century.

The *Tretys* writer has used the Marian sources found throughout the Middle Ages; the *Legenda Aurea* and behind the statement, "Seynte Ierome telles what Marye dydde" (v. 235) lies the *Evangelium* which was believed in this period to have been written by Jerome. Bernard and Bede's commentaries on Luke's Gospel are mentioned (v. 669).¹⁶² The writer's naivety is shown by the tale s/he includes of a Holy man who hears merry voices in Heaven singing at Mary's birth and who then goes to tell 'the Pope' (vv. 161 - 186). This unnamed Pope institutes a solemn feast for Mary's Nativity on the *sixth*, not the eighth of September.

The *Tretys* opens by placing Mary's life in its place in the history of salvation (Mary expiates Eve's sins) then details Anne and Joachim's relationship, the conception, birth and early life of Mary and a description of her betrothal and marriage to Joseph which includes a ceremony with the exchange of vows.

It is possible that the codex in which *Tretys* has been preserved was made for a woman who was not skilled in Latin. The size of the book (85 x 125cm) suggests a text for individual reading. The contents did have female associations in the central Middle Ages. Saint Margaret (of Antioch) is often depicted as emerging victorious from the belly of a dragon, was patron saint of childbirth and of all pregnant women. One version of Saint Dorothy's legend assures the reader that in whatever house the name or image of Dorothy is honoured no child will miscarry.¹⁶³ Both Margaret and Dorothy's virgin-martyr powers are believed to have sway over the somatic experiences of women. Who better than Mary, the most powerful of all wives and mothers, to link them with ?

The *SHS* also joins the repertoire of vernacular Marian lives in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century. The earliest vernacular translation is called *The Mirour of Mans Saluacioun*. It has survived in one English manuscript, and its editor suggests that the translation was made before 1429.¹⁶⁴

At some point between 1400x1450, a final poem was added to the narrative temporale material of the *SEL*. It has been called the *Trinity Conception of Mary (TCM)*, as it survives in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 3. 23 (James 605), ff. 261 - 69v from the period 1440 - 1450. This 740 line poem is a translation of the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew* (up to the trial of Mary and Joseph).¹⁶⁵

Also surviving from the first half of the fifteenth century is the Middle

English, prose *Meditacione de vita et passione et resurrectione et in celum ascensione Ihesu Christi*. The text is to be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 578 (27663) which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century. The explicit of the text states that it is 'secundum Bonaventuram ex tercia sua et breuissima licet fortillissima edicione'. It is not, however, a translation of the *MVC* of John Caulibus which was regularly attributed to Bonaventure or a copy of Nicholas Love's Middle English translation of that work.

The *Bodleian Meditationes* consist of thirty four sections, containing the Conception of Mary up to and including Christ's ascension, concluding with a section devoted to the great mercy of Mary. The section relating Anne and Joachim's relationship, the conception, birth, early life and marriage of Mary, ff. 1r - 4r, has been created from an amalgam of sources. The work opens with details of Anne's three marriages and states that Saint Jerome is the source of this information. Whilst the inspiration for this genealogy may have come from Jerome's remark about the 'cousins' of Christ, the *Bodleian Meditationes* compiler has used some form of the *Legenda Aurea's* entry for Mary's Nativity, as source here. To clarify the 'muddle of Marys', our present writer has identified which Mary was the eldest of Anne's daughters, which was the middle and which the youngest. The section called 'Off the deuowte affeccion of loue to god' (ff. 2r, l.23 - 4r, l.6) is a paraphrase rather than a copy of Love's translation of the *MVC*, chapter two, which outlines 'þe manere of lyuyng of þe blessedde virgine Marie'. For the description of Mary's betrothal and wedding, the writer draws upon a 'tretys of the Nativite [...] translatyd out of Ebru into Latyn' which he states was written by Saint Jerome. The text referred to here is the *Evangelium*, whose chapters VII and VIII have been closely translated to provide material for the

present text. The writer of the *Bodleian Meditationes* has chosen to retain the Latin for any quotations from the Bible which occur in this section of the *Evangelium*.¹⁶⁶

Bodleian 578 appears to have been written by a well-read cleric, judging from the number of sources with which he was familiar. He was quite up-to-date with new Marian texts - he uses Love's translation which was not available until 1410. He was skilled in Latin yet sensitive to the contemporary devotional needs of the laity by providing a life of Mary and Christ in the vernacular, which focused on their humanity. His inclusion of Anne's family tree is interesting. This information appears in England, as we have seen, via the *Legenda Aurea*. Surviving textual evidence suggests that the narrative and details of Anne's extended family were absent from the majority of English produced Marian works and those devoted to her mother. One explanation for their omission from Marian lives and the later works devoted to Anne is the peculiarly English devotion, from the twelfth century onwards, to Mary as Immaculate Conception. To admit to Anne marrying and producing further offspring could have been interpreted as a serious challenge to this doctrine. Whether their omission was simply indicative of a lack of English interest in the narrative or of something more organised, the deliberate suppression of the narrative, can only now be surmised. Its occurrence in Bodleian 578 (and in other works as we shall see) suggests no deliberate policy of suppression. The genealogy might be there because the writer was a Salomite, that is, one who believed in the *Trinubium* or three marriages of Anne. If so, his belief was not shared by many.

A Middle English translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* was made in 1438 by a friar who called himself a 'sinful wretch,' from a French version

associated with Jehan de Vignai.¹⁶⁷ The English version was called the *Golden Legend* and printed by Caxton in 1483, in a second edition in 1485-6, then by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498.¹⁶⁸ The *Legenda Aurea*, in both its Latin and vernacular translations remained unwaveringly popular throughout Europe from its first appearance.

Conclusions

As has been demonstrated, a corpus of visual and written artefacts, produced in England between 1200 and 1540, make mention of/portray the Holy marriages of Mary and her mother, Saint Anne. The lives of Anne are later than the earliest lives of Mary, reflecting that devotion to Anne did not become popular (in the sense of wider spread) until the fourteenth century. Using either one or more of the Marian apocrypha and/or texts which ultimately derive from them as their inspiration, medieval artisans portrayed the Holy marriages in the written word and in the plastic arts. Although *Mariale* seem to have been created for celibate communities, and indeed were often donated to such by their members, the other genre in which the Holy marriages appear; the greater number of Marian lives, Lives of Saint Anne, play texts, wall-paintings, stained glass windows, embroidery and Books of Hours, were created to be seen, heard or read by folk outside of the cloister, the majority of whom would have been married. The nature of the artefacts detailing the holy marriages indicate that this devotion was held by all ranks of society; by the men and women of the elite who commissioned such high status objects as *Books of Hours* and ecclesiastical embroidery, by the merchants who commissioned stained glass windows for their local parish church, and by the everyday folk who may have heard or possibly read Mary's story in hagiographic works, temporale poems, and sermons based on such works.

The detail given about Mary's marriage differs in individual works. Some written works simply emphasise the fact of Joseph and Mary's marriage, for example, the *Legenda Aurea*, the *SEL* poems, the *VBVMSR*, the *MVC* and its Middle English translations, Alexander Hales' *Mariale*, the *SHS* and its translation and all four of the lives of Anne discussed above. A greater number detail Joseph's selection as husband by the miracle of the flowering rod; *Cursor*, Gower's *Speculum Hominis*, the *SEL* poems, the *Legenda Aurea*, the *VBVMSR* and the *Lives of Anne*. Whether or not Joseph is said to have been previously married, depends upon the apocryphal source used by the writer. Some later writers, such as Lydgate, did prefer to portray Joseph as unmarried before his marriage to Mary.¹⁶⁹ A smaller number of works give reasons for their marriage; Alexander Hales' *Mariale*, the *NMC*, *Tretys*, *Cursor*, the *SHS* and its English translation and the *Life of Anne (Type C)*. The majority of the visual artefacts, the *Tretys* and the *N. Town Mary Play* describe an actual marriage ceremony. A very small and historically late, group of lives (Mary and Anne) mention Anne's three marriages.

As we have seen, there is precedent for the pictorial portrayal of a ceremony in artefacts from Europe but as the English portrayals date from around the same period as their European counterparts, it would seem that a simultaneous interest in Mary's marriage arose in a number of European countries which then cross-fertilised. It is noteworthy that the pictorial and written portrayals from England collectively are substantial in number, suggesting a special interest in this facet of Marian devotion. Representations of Anne's marriage surviving from England are very limited, in contrast to the number from the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century. This may be explained by the peculiarly English devotion to Mary as Immaculate Conception, to which the *Trinubium* may have been felt to have posed

a threat. Although English representations (visual and verbal) are limited, they do, nonetheless, exist from the fourteenth (written illustrations) and fifteenth centuries (written and the only surviving visual illustration).

No wedding ceremony of Anne or Mary is described in the versions of the apocrypha produced in Anglo-Saxon England. The invention of the details of Mary and her mother's wedding ceremony are peculiar to the central Middle Ages. The originality in these portrayals lies in their selection, organisation and, more frequently as time progresses, the amplification of the limited apocryphal material. As shall be demonstrated, the amplification of material became a deliberate and socially political enterprise.

One use to which these narratives were put was the establishing and promoting of the feasts of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) and Saint Anne (26 July), as can be seen in the *SEL* narratives. Their efficacy in the establishing of these two feasts cannot alone explain the additional details about Mary and Joseph's wedding ceremony and why they married, which appear between 1200 and 1540. Pickering's observation regarding the reproduction and revision of existing literary works is particularly apposite when considering how the central Middle Ages revised the Marian apocryphal material,

Like the successive copying of popular texts over a wide span of years, such revision raises questions about the conservatism of medieval taste [...] But revision further implies, at the very least, that the existing text was not to the reviser's purpose, and this is especially the case with religious verse [...] ¹⁷⁰

The additional material concerning the reasons for and the means by which Mary and Joseph celebrated their marriage leads one to ask two allied questions; why there was this interest in the Holy marriages at this historical moment and what were the new circumstances which caused medieval artisans to revise their use of the apocryphal narratives concerning the Holy marriages ?



Figure 1. The Betrothal Window, St. Mary's Parish Church, Fairford

Source : The Trustees and P.C.C. of St. Mary's, Fairford.



*Figure 2. The Wall Painting of Mary and Joseph's Marriage, Croughton, c.
1300*

Source : E. W. Tristram and M. R. James, 'Wall-paintings in Croughton Church, Northamptonshire,'
Archaeologia, 76 (1926-7), 179 - 204 (p.189)



Figure 3. The Whalley Abbey Orphrey, c. 1400
Source : Privately Obtained



Figure 4. Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 596, fol.96
 Source : Privately Obtained

Chapter two : notes

¹. Dated later than the Canonical Gospels, the Apocryphal Gospels began to be written from around 150 onwards. Although the majority were originally written in Greek, they now survive in a variety of languages including Latin, Greek, Syriac and Coptic. Their authorship is now unknown. Their transmission to the West was achieved through the intercommunication between Eastern and Western churches. Certainly, Anglo-Saxon monks travelled on the Continent to Rome and Ravenna, centres which retained contact with Eastern Churches and in all probability they returned to England with these narratives. See Jane Stevenson, 'Ascent through the Heavens, from Egypt to Ireland', *Cambridge Celtic Medieval Studies* 5 (Summer 1983), 21-35 (pp. 33 - 34). Any notion of the New Testament Gospels as a fixed canon would be inaccurate before the close of the second century. Ackroyd and Evan suggest that at around the close of the third century, Palestinian religious authorities decided to arrest the growth of sacred writings and establish a canon, although Irenaeus had discussed this in the late second century, P. Ackroyd and C. F. Evan, *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume I*, p. 199 and p. 284. François Bovon has suggested that a legitimate selection of the Four Gospels as canonical took place at the close of the second century, F. Bovon, 'The Synoptic Gospels and the Non-Canonical Acts of the Apostles', *Harvard Theological Review*, 81 : 1 (January, 1988), 19 - 36 (p. 34). The Apocryphal gospels were given titles which deliberately suggest that they were written with biblical authority, although this authority was considered spurious even by their contemporaries, such as Jerome who described them as 'mud'. In his Epistle 107 to Laeta concerning how to bring up her daughter, Jerome condemned the Apocryphal Gospels on account of their false attribution to authors and for their content :

Caveat omnia apocrypha. Et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat non eorum esse, quorum titulis praenotentur: multaque his admixta vitiosa, et grandis esse prudentiae aurum in luto quaerere. (PL 22, col 877)

Avoid all the apocryphal books. And if she [Paula, Laeta's daughter] is led to read such not by the truth of the doctrines which they contain but out of respect for the miracles contained in them, realise that they are not really written by those to whom they are ascribed, that there are many faulty elements in them and that it requires great skill to look for gold in mud.

Translation from H. Wace and P. Schaff, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English with Prologomena and Explanatory Notes. Volume VI. St. Jerome. Letters and Select Works*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan : Wm B. Eerdmans, reprint 1978), p. 194.

². *The History of Joseph the Carpenter or the Death of Joseph*, edited and translated by James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 84 - 86, and more recently by Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 114 - 7, provides details of Mary's marriage from Joseph's perspective. The work consists of a speech by Jesus to his disciples on the Mount of Olives, in which Jesus repeats Joseph's story, as it was related to Him. This includes Joseph's perceptions of the circumstances of his marriage to Mary. Elliott believes this work to have been inspired by the *Protevangelion* and hence a later date of composition may be assumed, Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 47. Sahidic and Arabic versions (based on a Coptic or possibly Syriac source) exist but Elliott citing Morenz, believes the original language of composition to have been Greek and that the work has an Egyptian provenance, Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* , p.111. Cullmann dates the *History of Joseph* to around 400, in Cullmann, ' Infancy Gospels' in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 484 whilst Elliott, although accepting the possibility of its being a fourth/fifth century work, also recognises that its purpose in glorifying Joseph's feast day might point to a later date of composition when saints' days were observed, Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 111. M. R. James points to the existence of a Latin translation made in the fourteenth century from the Arabic text, James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 84. The

History of Joseph did not, however, make an impact on the West and so has not been included in this study.

³. The earliest incontestable reference to the *Protevangelium* is in Origen (d. c. 253), in his commentary on Matthew 10 : 17, in connection with the controversy surrounding Mary's sexual relationship with Joseph after Jesus' birth. Origen states the following:

[They of Nazareth thought that Jesus] was the son of Joseph and Mary : but the brothers of Jesus some (founding on a tradition of the Gospel entitled *According to Peter* or *The Book of James*) say were sons of Joseph by a former wife who had lived with him before Mary [...]

as quoted in James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 13. Knowledge of the *Protevangelion* may lie behind Clement of Alexandria's (d. 215) mention of the midwife who proclaims Mary's virginity post partum since this story is a distinctive feature of the *Protevangelion*. Elliott expresses no doubt about Clement's knowledge of the *Protevangelion* in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 49. Cullmann in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 423. and Warner in *Alone*, p. 3 both express reticence about Clement's knowledge of this text. The work has been edited and translated by James and more recently by Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 57 - 67. Elliott argues that a Latin version was not produced until much later because the West prohibited the teaching of Joseph's first marriage and that the creation of the later apocrypha, the *Pseudo-Matthew* and *Evangelium* obviated the need for a translation.

⁴. Cullmann in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 424. The narrative voice identifies himself as James and states that he wrote the book in Jerusalem after the death of Herod, whom Cullmann identifies as either Herod the Great (d. c. 1 CE) or Herod Agrippa I (d. 44 CE). Cullman suggests that the remainder of the text was added in a later period. Elliott argues that one motive for its composition was specifically to counter the attacks made by Celsus (c. 178) on Mary's virginal conception of Christ and so dates the section of the *Protevangelion* dealing with the Holy marriages to the second half of the second century, Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 50. Celsus' attacks can be reconstructed from Origen's *Contra Celsum* I : 28 - 32. Celsus appears to have created a story of Joseph putting away Mary because of her adultery. According to Celsus, the real father of Jesus was a soldier named Panthera and his mother was a poor working girl, Cullmann in Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 484. As has been suggested in chapter one, at the close of the second century Mary's childbearing was manipulated to demonstrate that Christ's nature was both human and divine. This would have been an apt moment for the early Christians to produce narratives which illustrated the duality of Christ's nature.

⁵. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 13 and Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 86 for commentary and pages 88 - 99 for text. Both James and Elliott believe this Latin work to be a composite, drawing heavily on the *Protevangelion* for its chapters 1 - 17 and another second century apocryphon, the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, for chapters 26 - 34, 37 - and 41. Gijssels, however, has raised doubts about the later chapters based on the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, suggesting that they do not belong to *Pseudo-Matthew* and that they are, in fact, absent from most manuscripts of the text, Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 85. The *Pseudo-Matthew* is prefaced by two pretended letters: (i) from bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus to Saint Jerome and (ii) Jerome's reply to them. Their function is to provide respectable credentials for the apocryphon. Although the letters are spurious, their author appears to have been familiar with Jerome's writings and his opinion that apocrypha were little more than mud. The letter which is supposed to have been written by Jerome contains a proverb which warns that in the discovery of gold, sods of earth have to be examined too. This sounds remarkably like the warning which Jerome sent to Laeta in Epistle 107 (see note 1), although here the metaphor has been turned on its head. It has been edited by C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Avenarius et Mendessolin, 1853), who notes that there are two variant forms of the *Pseudo-Matthew* which he terms *Pseudo-Matthew* A and B. See Tischendorf pp. 67 - 68 for some of the variants.

⁶. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 13.

⁷. This apocryphon has been edited by Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 92 - 105.

⁸. Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p.14. The text was formerly attributed to Paschasius Radbertus (c. 780 - c. 865) by Warner, *Alone*, p. 30 and O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p.277 but Clayton states that this attribution has been disproved recently by Rita Beyers. The earliest proof of the text's existence may lie in a reference to a Nativity apocryphon in a sermon for the feast of the Nativity of Mary by Fulbert of Chartres (952 - 1028), Clayton, 'Aelfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary,' *Anglia* 104 (1986), 286 - 315 (p. 291). The sermon for the Nativity of Mary by Fulbert of Chartres can be found in PL 141 : 327. Fulbert gives no title for the Nativity apocryphon, so Fulbert may have been referring to *Protevangelion* or the *Pseudo-Matthew* or the *Evangelium*. What is clear is that Fulbert is expressing the same concerns about the apocrypha as expressed by his English contemporary, Aelfric (see *Chapter 1*). As with its source, the *Pseudo-Matthew*, the *Evangelium* is prefaced by the fictitious correspondence between the bishops Cromatius and Heliodorus and Saint Jerome. This was noted by Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 406. Elliott confirms that these letters prefaced some manuscripts of the *Evangelium*, in *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 85, note 3.

⁹. A number of medieval Marian lives credit Jerome as the author of their source, the *Evangelium*. Its editor, Tischendorf, notes the possibility that St. Jerome and Innocent I wrote it, Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. xxv. The ascription to St. Jerome can be found in London, British Library MS Additional 29,434 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 578 (see *Appendix Three, items 4 and 12*).

¹⁰. They were produced in spite of condemnation of apocryphal gospels as heretical, by Saint Jerome in 403 and again in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, a composite document of five chapters, chapter five listing the apocryphal books which are condemned for eternity. Although different parts of the document are of different date, chapter five dealing with the apocrypha is thought to be the work of an individual in the late fifth or early sixth century, probably in Gaul. The false attribution to Pope Gelasius (492 - 96) seems to have come about in the seventh century. The section of the *Decretum* devoted to the apocrypha can be found in PL 59, 157 - 164, 165 - 180, Adrian Walford, trans., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church. Volume I, edited by Angelo di Barnardino* (Cambridge : James Clarke, 1991), p. 223.

¹¹. The variations between the apocrypha are as follows :

a Anne/a's genealogy is expanded in *Pseudo-Matthew*, chapter 1.

b Joachim's age on marrying and their period of childlessness appear in *Pseudo-Matthew*, chapter 1.

c The division of Joachim's wealth differs in the apocrypha : in the *Protevangelion* Joachim gives twofold or double offerings - the excess for the people and an offering for the forgiveness of God. In *Pseudo-Matthew*, I and the *Evangelium*, Joachim gives a double offering and divides his wealth into three parts; one for the poor, one for the pious and a third for himself. Different versions of the *Protevangelion* give the priest's name as Reuben or Reubel. The *Pseudo-Matthew* (A) calls him Reubin whilst version (B) calls him Ysachar and has appeared to have confused the priest with Anne's father.

d Versions of *Protevangelion* manuscripts call the maid Euthine. She is unnamed in *Pseudo-Matthew*.

e In *Pseudo-Matthew* the angel promises Anne a girl at this point. It is only in the *Evangelium* that Anne is promised a girl who shall be called ' Mary'.

f This details first occurs in *Pseudo-Matthew*, chapter II.

g *Protevangelion* variants have ' and his shepherd and sheep and his goats and oxen'.

h *Pseudo-Matthew* tells Joachim it will be a girl. Manuscripts vary in the tense used at this point ; some, using the future tense, suggest that Mary will be conceived in the usual way whereas the use of the past tense was used by supporters of Mary as Immaculate conception in the Middle

Ages.

i *Pseudo-Matthew* gives the length of Joachim's journey.

j *Protevangelion* simply says 'gate' but by the time of *Pseudo-Matthew* this has become 'Golden Gate'.

k Again, manuscripts of *Protevangelion* vary in the verb tense (see i).

l *Protevangelion* has variant of her months/ six months.

m *Protevangelion* manuscripts contain the following variants ; sixth/seventh/eighth, ninth month.

n *Pseudo-Matthew* has Mary change her clothes, as if taking holy orders. *Evangelium* repeats this.

o *Pseudo-Matthew* (A) and *Evangelium* give Mary's age as 14. Following the *Protevangelion*, *Pseudo-Matthew* (B) has 12.

p Mary's vow of virginity and the appearance of Abiathar's son as suitor occur only in *Pseudo-Matthew*, chapter VII.

q *Protevangelion* has widowers, *Pseudo-Matthew* and *Evangelium* has 'men without wives'.

r In *Protevangelion* the high priest is called Zacharius, in *Pseudo-Matthew* he is called Abiathar. In the *Pseudo-Matthew* alone, Joseph deliberately withholds his staff and Abiathar is informed of this deceit by an angel. In the *Evangelium* the angel has become a 'divine voice'.

s *Protevangelion* and *Pseudo-Matthew* (A) has the appearance of the dove as the only sign, following the appearance of the dove in Genesis 8 : 11. In *Evangelium* Joseph's staff flowers also, as in Numbers 16 : 4 -9. *Pseudo-Matthew* (B) has Joseph's rod bearing nuts.

t The detail of Joseph's sons which feature in both the *Protevangelion* and *Pseudo-Matthew* was excised from the *Evangelium* when the West stopped teaching about Joseph's former marriage. In *Pseudo-Matthew* chapter 8, it states that Joseph had grandchildren older than Mary and that on obtaining Mary's hand, he hoped to wed her to his son on his death. This custom was known as Levirate marriage : see Deuteronomy 25 : 5 - 10.

u The group of virgins are unnamed and seven in number in the *Protevangelion*. They appear after the request that they and Mary weave the Temple curtain. In the *Pseudo-Matthew* they are five and are called ; Rebecca, Saphora, Susanna, Abigea and Zahel. In the *Evangelium* there are seven, unnamed virgins who accompany Mary to her parents' house in Galilee after the wedding.

v In *Pseudo-Matthew* the virgins defend Mary's chastity at this point.

w The *Evangelium* ends here, with Mary and Joseph going to Bethlehem.

x In the *Protevangelion* Mary and Joseph have to drink the 'waters of bitterness', following Numbers 5 : 16 - 23, where a woman is suspected of adultery. Here both Joseph and Mary drink and survive, clearly demonstrating that they are both virgin. In *Pseudo-Matthew* Mary and Joseph have to walk around the altar seven times.

y The *Protevangelion* talks of two midwives, one who believes in the virgin birth and a doubting one who is called Salome and whose hand withers for her impiety. On affirming her belief in Mary's post-partum virginity, her hand is restored. *Pseudo-Matthew* names them both ; Zelomi and the doubting Salome.

¹². The earliest Anglo-Saxon work to use narrative strands from a Marian marriage apocryphon is the *Old English Martyrology* (750x899 (?)). Its entry for the feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September) can be seen to draw upon the first six chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew*, in its description of Joachim and Anne's twenty years of childlessness and Mary's excellence and beauty whilst living in the Temple, details which are absent from the *Protevangelion*, J. E. Cross, 'The Use of Patristic Homilies in the Old English Martyrology,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 125, note 97. It is not, however, a translation of the first six chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew*. The Martyrologist takes names, numbers and ideas from chapters 1 - 3 but then translates phrases from the opening of chapters 4 and 6 with what Clayton describes as 'verbal echo.' These narratives can be seen to be behind the entries for these feasts in

the *Old English Martyrology*, a text written between the second half of the eighth century and the end of the ninth by a scholarly writer. The full text can be found in *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. G. Kotzor, volume 2, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, 88. 1 (Munich, 1981), p. 210 - 3, as translated in Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 216, note 32 :

On the eighth day of the month is the Nativity of St. Mary. Her father was called Joachim and her mother, Anna, and they were twenty years together before they had a child. They were very sad; then an angel of God appeared to each of them, separately, and said to them that they were to have such a child as had never come into the world before or never would afterwards. Then after twenty years Anna gave birth to a daughter and she named her Mary. And when she was three years old, then her father and mother brought her to Jerusalem and gave her there to the community of women who performed songs of praise day and night in the house of God. Then the child was at once wise and resolute and so perfect that nobody sang God's songs of praise more excellently : and she was so bright and beautiful in her countenance that one could hardly look at her. And during her maidenhood she did many wonders in weaving and other skills which the older ones could not do.

Further evidence of Anglo-Saxon knowledge and original adaptation of these narratives can be found in the vernacular poem, *Christ I*, section VII. This poem is preserved in the mid-tenth century *Exeter Book* but the text may well date from the eighth or ninth century. Section VII is a dialogue between Mary and Joseph, in which Joseph states that he received Mary as a virgin from the Temple. Mary's connection with the Temple before her marriage is a detail which does not arise from the canonical Gospels and so an apocryphal source must be assumed. Mary Clayton suggests a similarity between Joseph's speech in *Christ I*, Advent Lyric VII and the Pseudo-Augustine Sermon CXCIV (PL 39, 2108 - 9 and fully translated in A. S. Cook, 'A Remote Analogue to the Miracle Play', *JEGP*, 4 (1902), 421 - 51. The sermon speaks of Mary 'quam in templo Domini acceperat', (as one whom he [Joseph] had received from the Temple of the Lord). It is probable that the Advent lyric writer either knew the Pseudo-Augustine sermon which draws on the non-canonical accounts of Mary's early life and marriage or was influenced by another version of these narratives, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 191. Most recently J. N. Garde has offered a solution to the disputed speech divisions in the poem in 'Christ I (164 - 195a): The Mary-Joseph Dialogue in Medieval Christian Perspective', *Neophilologus* 74 (1990), 122 - 130. The ninth century legendary, London, British Library MS Additional 11880 contains the tract based upon the Latin *Pseudo-Matthew* as found in the *Old English Martyrology*, calling it *Sermo de Nativitate Sanctae Mariae*, Cross, 'The Use of Patristic Homilies,' p. 125. As in the *Old English Martyrology*, the apocryphon has been used as the reading for the feast of Mary's Nativity. It ends completely at chapter twenty-three. Other evidence of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of the content of the Marian apocrypha is to be found in *Christ I*, advent lyric VII. This poem is preserved in the mid-tenth century codex, known as *The Exeter Book*, though the poem itself may date from the eighth or ninth century. Section VII is a dialogue between Mary and Joseph, in which Joseph states that he received Mary as a virgin from the Temple, a detail not found in the canonical Gospels but in both the *Protevangelion* and in *Pseudo-Matthew*. It cannot be certain that this lyric writer knew either of the apocrypha directly. Indeed, Clayton has suggested that this detail may have been derived from the Latin, Pseudo-Augustine sermon 195, 'Homily on the Annunciation,' (PL 39 : 2108 - 9) in Clayton, *Cult of Mary*, p. 191. It is possible that the writer of *Christ I* knew of the apocryphal narratives through three, eastern homilies, all in existence by the eighth century and which contained echoes of the apocryphal material : the Latin Pseudo-Augustine, the Greek 'Homily on the Taxing of Mary' (PG 28 : 944) attributed to St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (c. 286 - 373) and another Greek homily, 'On the Annunciation,' (PG 98 : 321 - 340) attributed to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 740), Cook, 'A Remote

Analogue,' 421 - 51. These homilies found their way to England via contact between Anglo-Saxon and Greek monks in Constantinople and southern Italy (Rome and Ravenna).

¹³. It is so named because it now survives as two separate manuscripts; London, British Library Cotton Nero E. i., parts i and ii and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9. They have been separate since the late eleventh century to provide ease of handling of what would have been a substantial work, see Jane Stevenson, 'The Holy Sinner: Mary of Egypt and her biographers ' in *The Life of Mary the Egyptian : Mediæval Insular Hagiography*, ed., Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (Dublin : Fourcourts, 1997), 19 - 98 (pp. 43-4). Ker states both manuscripts were written at Worcester, in the third quarter of the eleventh century but the work itself appears not to be of English origin, N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 41. The legendary itself is not of English origin. The *Cotton-Corpus* manuscripts are the earliest of several English copies of a legendary which Jackson and Lapidge argue was compiled in Northern France or Flanders, at some point in the very late ninth or early tenth century. This legendary reached England by the late tenth century, as it was used by Aelfric for the composition of his *Lives of the Saints*, P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary' in P. Szarmach, ed., *Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts* (forthcoming), p. 6.

¹⁴. Cotton Nero E. i., part ii, fols. 116v - 118r contains an entry for 8 September, the feast of Mary's Nativity, entitled, *Sermo de Natiuitate S. Mariae* which both Kotzor and Clayton identify as an extract from the *Pseudo-Matthew*, Cross, 'The Use of Patristic Homilies', p. 125 and Clayton, *The The Cult of Mary*, p. 24.

¹⁵. Other manuscripts of the same legendary are Salisbury, Cathedral Library 221 and 222 (formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library Fell 4 and 1), Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 354 (West Country (?), s. xii²), Hereford, Cathedral Library P. 7. VI (Hereford, s. xii^{med}) and Salisbury, Cathedral Library Fell 2, as identified in Stevenson, 'The Holy Sinner', pp. 19 - 98.

¹⁶. Cambridge, Pembroke College manuscript 25, is a collection of Latin homilies. Although the homilies themselves date back to the 8th/9th century, Pembroke 25 was made at Bury St. Edmunds in the eleventh century by a single composer and was written to be used by Anglo-Saxon preachers, J. E. Cross, ed., *Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25 : A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers* (London : Kings College, 1987), p. vi. The homily for the feast of Mary's Nativity comprises, according to Cross, extracts, with verbal echoes but also adaptation, from a Latin translation of the first eight chapters of the Greek *Protevangelion* (from Mary's birth to her Presentation in the Temple), Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25*, p. 37, note on homily 51. Homily 51 (fols. 119v. l.19 - 121v. l.18) is the homily for the feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September) and its incipit reads :

Omelia in Natiuitate Sancte Mariae : Inquirendum est, fr[atres] K[arissima], et explanandum per ordinem de origine generis Mariae, et natiuitatis eius solemnitatem. Quidam uir nob[il]is fuit in tribu Iuda, Ioachim nomine, ex genere Dauid, honorabilis ualde in xii tribus Israel [...]

Homily on the Nativity of Holy Mary : Dearest brothers, we should examine and explain in order the origin of Mary's stock and the solemnisation of her Nativity. There was a noble man of the tribe of Judah, called Joachim, from the stock of David, greatly honoured among the twelve tribes of Israel [...]

It does not contain the section concerning Mary's betrothal and marriage to Joseph.

¹⁷. The earliest surviving English translation of the first twelve chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew* is to be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, fols. 201 - 12, which Ker dates to the third quarter of the eleventh century, Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 391. Hatton 113 and its companion Hatton 114, form two volumes of a collection of homilies (divided as early as the thirteenth century) which Ker states to have been intended as a continuation of a volume of ecclesiastical institutions, Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* (composed between 1005 and

1007), a set of regulations for the secular clergy, now Oxford, Bodleian Junius 121, Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 391 and R. Fowler, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS, 266 (London : Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. xxvi and xxviii. Fowler argues that Junius 121 was written in the third quarter of the eleventh century and was connected with Worcester, Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons*, p. xiv. It is reasonable to suppose that Worcester would have been interested in promoting the teaching of one of its most illustrious sons, for Wulfstan was Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York in the early years of the eleventh century. It is most probable, therefore, that the whole project, that is the combining of the Canons with the Homilies, was conceived of and executed at Worcester. One may surmise further, that the Worcester translation of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, as it appears in Hatton 114, was carried out by the Wulfgeat who had copied Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* (now Junius 121) for which the homiliary was to be a companion piece. Article 72 on fols. 201 - 12 of MS 114 is a translation into Old English of the first twelve chapters of *Pseudo-Matthew* and is used as the homily for the feast of Mary's Nativity, Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 391, 397. Articles 60 - 69 and 72 - 75 in Hatton 114 are homilies for saints' days from 1 May to 1 November, of which all, except article 72, are from Aelfric's *Sermones Catholici*. Its incipit on f. 201 reads:

De natiuitate sanctae mariae. 'Men þa leofestan, weorþian we nu onandweardnysse þa gebryrptide þære eadigan fæmnan sca. Marian. Seo wæs cennystre ures drihtnes hælendes cristes. Nu is hyre nama gereht hlæfdige, oððe cwen oððe sce steorra. Heo is hlæfdige *geweþen* forþan þe heo cende þone hlaforð heofonan & eorþan [...]

Concerning the nativity of Blessed Mary. 'Dearest brothers, we honour now the present birthday of the blessed virgin Saint Mary. She gave birth to our Lord the Saviour Christ. Now is her name translated as Lady, either queen or holy star. She is *called* queen because she gave birth to the Lord of Heaven and earth [...]

The next oldest text of the vernacular *Pseudo-Matthew* is in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, part II, fols. 11 - 16, a twelfth century manuscript. Corpus Christi 367 may have been a Homiliary, although all that remains of this codex are fragments of six quires of a collection of homilies muddled together. Ker states that the homilies for saints' days (to be found in quires 3 - 6 : 15 August - 29 September) were arranged according to the order of the Church year. Articles (that is entries) 1 - 5, 8 and 9 are from Aelfric's *Sermones Catholici* and article 7 is from his *Lives of the Saints*, Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 108. Article 6, fols. 11 - 16 is used as the homily for the feast of Mary's Nativity, Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 109. Its incipit recalls that found in Hatton 114, "' Sexta idus septembris. natiuitas sancte marie. uiginis [sic]. 'Men þa leofestan weorðiat we nu on andweard-nysse. "' It too is an Old English translation of chapters 1 - 12 of *Pseudo-Matthew* and its similarity to Hatton 114 may suggest some form of Worcester connection. A third manuscript to contain an Old English translation of chapters 1 - 12 of *Pseudo-Matthew* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, a large collection of homilies, forty-eight of which are taken from Aelfric's *Sermones Catholici*. Probably from the West Midlands, the manuscript dates from the late twelfth century. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 368 dates Bodley 343 to s. xii² whereas Pächt and Alexander suggest s. xii 3/4 and give the West Midlands as its provenance, O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, eds., *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Volume 3. British and Icelandic Schools with addenda to volumes 1 and 2* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 20. Item 16 (fols. 30 - 33v) is the entry for the feast of Mary's Nativity and its incipit (f. 30) reads: Natiuitas sancte marie. 'Men ða leofeste wurðe we nu as andweardnysse þære byrðtide þære eadige femne sce marie. Seo wæs godes kenninge ures drihtnes hælendes cristes & hiræ name I reht laefdi oððe cwen oððe sæ steorrae. Heo is læfdi *nemned* forþan þe heo cende þone laforð heofenæs & eorðæn [...]

The Nativity of the blessed Mary. 'Dearest Brothers, we honour this present birthday of the

blessed virgin holy Mary. She was of the family of our holy Lord Christ and I translate her name Lady or Queen or Star of the Sea. She is *named* Lady because she gave birth to the Lord of Heaven and earth [...]

It too is a translation of chapters 1 - 12 of the *Pseudo-Matthew*. Hatton 114 and Bodley 343 are two redactions of the same translation, only very distantly related to each other as is illustrated by the alternation of *cweþan* and *nemnan* in the excerpt, as well as the change between *sce steorra* [holy star] in Hatton and *sæ steorrae* [star of the sea] in Bodley 343. This variant was noted by Jane Stevenson in her examination of the manuscript, March 1997. Oxford, Bodleian Library 343 is probably a West Midlands manuscript (see above) and it may, therefore, have had a Worcester connection but perhaps not originating from Worcester itself which would explain why it does not replicate the Hatton translation verbatim. My thanks to Jane Stevenson for her transcription of the incipits of Hatton 114 and Bodley 343 and her confirmation that they are the opening twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew*.

¹⁸. Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies* or *Sermones Catholici* were also copied repeatedly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that is, except for his homily for the feast of Mary's Nativity. Each of the English homiliaries described (see note 17) contain a selection of Aelfric's homilies but instead of including his homily on the feast of Mary's Nativity, however, each contains an Old English translation of the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew* which relate of Mary's conception, birth and early life in the Temple. The translation was substituted for Aelfric's 'Sermon on Mary's Nativity' in subsequent homiliaries containing the *Sermones Catholici* because the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew* relate precisely the details of Mary's conception, birth and early life in the Temple, which Aelfric had omitted.

¹⁹. A fragment of this text survives in a Cambridge manuscript, Saint John's College B 20, Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, p. 4, note 14. At the close of the Middle Ages, the library of the Bridgettine monastery at Syon, Isleworth, owned a Latin copy of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, now lost but recorded in the library catalogue and called the *Liber de ortu & natiuitate beatissime virginis a beato Ieronimo ex hebreo in Latinum translatus*. M. Bateson, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), p. 84.

²⁰. Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst. Band 4. 2. Maria* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980).

²¹. Such as the copy of the *Evangelium* in London, British Library Manuscript Harley 2801 (ff. 95r - 96r), a large Legendary which belonged, according to the *Fontes Harlaeani*, to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Arnstein on the Lahn near Koblenz (Central Germany) in 1464, *Fontes Harleiani*, p. 53. The apocryphal gospel appears as the preface to the life of Saint Evoricius

(8 September) and is described in the manuscript as a letter from Saint Jerome to Eustochium concerning the birth of the Virgin Mary. Harley 2801 also prescribes that it is to be used as the entry for the feast of Mary's Nativity, a use to which it was put in England, as has been demonstrated, since the apocryphal narratives were first known.

²². Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, p. 262.

²³. A. Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXXX (Tübingen: Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, 1888). It is a verse narrative of 8032 lines, in rhyming couplets. It is divided into four books and each book is divided into narrative units with its own heading. These units function like chapters. Indeed Graef goes as far as to say that the life reads like a versified novel, Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, p. 259.

²⁴. The text has been found in the following ten manuscripts (predominantly German, with three surviving from Austria and one from Switzerland); Munich, Royal Public Library Cod. Lat. 12518, 3578, 4683, 7787, 9716, and 14538, Graz, Codex 1447, 1133, 241, Rheinau Monastery Codex 173, originally from the 'Cantons Library', Zurich. Vögtlin suggests that the poem is in the

tradition but not to the high standard of the Marian life written by the Swiss, Walter von Rheinau. It is related to a later work called the *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beate Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris*, a prose Latin Marian life giving details of the Holy marriages that has survived in a composite manuscript which contains 18 items dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The *NVCBMVPAS* is written in a fourteenth century hand and survives incomplete in manuscript Codex Giessensis 777, ff. 20r - 41v, now at Giessen in the Hessen region of Germany but formerly from the Archbishop of Vienna's library at Senckenberg, Austria and edited by O. Schade, ed., *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beatae Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris* (Konigsberg : Regimonti. Typis Academicis Dalkowskianis, 1870). Horrall does not date the text but included it in her discussions of the thirteenth century in *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 11. The *NVCBMVPAS* is divided into fifty-eight sections, without headings, which function as chapters. The author uses as sources, amongst others, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and an apocryphal gospel which he calls the *Ewangelium [sic] Hebreorum*, the title by which recension of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, that is the *Evangelium*, was known in the Middle Ages. Sections III to VII relate Mary's early life up to and including her marriage, although it does not describe this. Though clearly based on the *Evangelium*, the work includes original details, such as Mary's prayer when she learns of her marriage and the angelic reassurance which she receives. The scenes in the *VBVMSR* and *NVCBMVPAS* which Joseph is selected as Mary's husband are clearly related.

²⁵. Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie*, p. 3.

²⁶. Book II (ll. 1479 - 3622) includes the Nativity, the miracles at Christ's birth, the flight into Egypt of the Holy Family and the childhood of Jesus. Book III (ll. 3623 - 6062) covers Jesus' ministry, the Crucifixion and Book IV (ll. 6063 - 8032) Christ's Resurrection, his Ascension and the death and assumption of Mary, Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie*, pp. 20 - 58.

²⁷. Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie*, p. 38.

²⁸. Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 10.

²⁹. Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 10.

³⁰. W. Granger Ryan, trans., *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, two volumes, volume II (Princeton, N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1993).

³¹. Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend*, p. 153.

³². Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias,
Quas genuere viri Joachim, Cleophas Salomeque.
Has duxere viri Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedaeus.
Prima parit Christum, Jacobum secunda minorem,
Et Joseph justum peperit cum Simone Judam,
Tertia majorem Jacobum volucremque Joannem.

Anna is usually said to have conceived three Marys,/ Whom [her] husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome, begot./ The Marys were taken in marriage by Joseph, Apheus, Zebedee. / The first Mary bore Christ, the second, James the Less, / Joseph the Just with Simon and Jude,/ the third, James the Greater and John the Wingèd.,
as translated by Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend*. p. 150.

³³. Warner, *Alone*, p. 24.

³⁴. Haymo, in turn, seems to have based it on an amalgam of Jerome's comment in his *De Beatae Mariae Virginitate Perpetua Adversus Helvidium* that the 'brothers of Jesus' were his cousins and the belief that the three Marys of the New Testament (Mary Magdalene, Mary Cleophas, the mother of James and Joses and Mary Jacobi or Salome, the mother of James and John) were sisters. Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 11. Haymo then makes the logical conclusion that Anne had three daughters named Mary, one of which was the Virgin Mary and that the Marys' children were Jesus and his cousins. Louis, following Förster, suggests either Haymon [sic] of Auxerre or Haymon of Halberstadt as the originator of the genealogy. Cameron

Louis, ed., *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle. An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, Garland Medieval Texts, No. 1 (New York and London : Garland Publishing, 1980), p. 407. For Förster's discussion see M. Förster, 'Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna,' *Probleme Der Englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925).

³⁵. Opinion was divided and uncertain both as to the veracity and the doctrinal plausibility of the narrative. Peter Lombard (whom we will meet later as a key figure in the formulation of canon law governing marriage) offers two explanations of the existence of Christ's brothers; that of the *Protevangelion* that they were the children of Joseph's first marriage, or that they arise from Anne's three marriages. Lombard discounts the first reason, since he believed Joseph to have been a virgin, but refuses to confirm their descent from Anne, Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 14.

³⁶. Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 14. Herbert of Bosham voices anti-Salomite opinions in a letter to Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, c. 1166.

³⁷. A. C. Peltier, ed., *Pseudo-Bonaventure 'Meditationes Vitae Christi'* in *Bonaventure Opera Omnia*, Volume XII (Paris : [n.p.], 1868).

³⁸. A. Henry, ed., *The Mirour of Man's Saluacion. A Middle English translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis. A critical edition of the fifteenth-century manuscript illustrated from Der Spiegel der menschen Behältnis Speyer : Drach, c. 1475*, (Aldershot : Scholar Press, 1986).

³⁹. Michael Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ. A critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, ed., Garland Medieval Texts, number 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992), p.xv.

⁴⁰. Indeed, of the 113 surviving manuscripts of the Latin *MVC*, forty-four are in English libraries, the largest single national group and the majority of these are of English provenance. The *MVC* survives in many manuscripts (113 in total). A French translation was made by Jean Galopes/Galoys, chaplain to Henry IV of England and presented to him in May 1420 which is to be found in four manuscripts. The *MVC* was also translated on two separate occasions into English. Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, p. xix.

⁴¹. Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, p. 21. Her age shows the influence of either the *Pseudo-Matthew* or the *Evangelium*.

⁴². Jerome writes about how Mary spent her time in the Temple in a letter to Eustochium, who became head of the nunnery founded in Bethlehem by her grandmother, Paula, a lifelong friend of Jerome. The text of the letter (Epistle 50) can be found in PL 30, 297 - 305.

⁴³. *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ by Nicholas Love, Prior of Mount Grace Charterhouse, Yorkshire (1410 - 1421)*, edited by a Monk of Parkminster (London, 1926), p. 2.

⁴⁴. The *SHS* was immensely popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as is evinced by the number of manuscript survivals. Even before 1350, the poem has disseminated as far as Dortmund

(North Germany), Prague in the east and Toledo in central Spain, Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p. 1. The poem's popularity is attested by its being among the earliest books to be printed in moveable type, Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p. 10.

⁴⁵. The poem begins with the Creation goes on to the Apocalypse and is a compilation of biblical and apocryphal narratives. Its main sources are the Bible, the apocryphal gospels, Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (d. c. 1179), De Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* (1274 but made the basis of Dominican teaching in 1278), Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p. 12. The author states that his work is a compilation, gathered to instruct both laity and clergy in the way to their salvation. The writer suggests that preachers use *SHS* as a source-book for sermons and went as far as to provide a summary of chapter

contents so that those too poor to afford the whole might buy a part to use as an aide-mémoire. The *SHS* belongs to the popular medieval genre of specular guides and acts as a handbook to which one may turn for an explication of what were, by the fourteenth century, traditional ideas and images, Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p. 11.

⁴⁶. The *SHS* comprises a prologus in which the compiler details his aims and methods, a prohemium or table of contents, chapters 1 - 42, each of 100 lines and composed of four events with four associated illustrations and chapters 43 - 45, each of 208 lines. Henry describes chapters 3 - 42 as functioning typologically and chapters 43 - 45, which are tales told by male celibates (a hermit, friar or cleric) work as devotions to the seven canonical Hours, the Seven Stations of the Cross, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin and the Seven Joys of the Virgin, Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p. 12. Chapters 3 to 6 detail the holy marriages.

⁴⁷. The Brotherhood of Saint Anne comprised mainly foreign merchants from Switzerland, France and the Low Countries who had met in the Carmelite monastery of Frankfurt-am-Main since 1479 and had acquired a relic of Saint Anne (part of her arm) in 1493. Ton Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' pp. 113 and 115.

⁴⁸. As reproduced in Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family,' p. 115.

⁴⁹. Those fifteenth century English works which identify Anne's parents, such as Robert Reynes *Commonplace Book*, names her mother as Nasabath and her father as Ysakar, Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, p. 191. Another East Anglian text gives the same information, K.S. Block, ed., *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi. Cotton MS Vespasian D. VIII*, EETS ES 120 (London : Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 62. They do not make use of the Dutch apocryphal narratives which give Anne's parents names as Emerentia and Stollanus.

⁵⁰. He wrote two Latin tracts in which he described the life of Anne and a pageant about the marriage of Mary and Joseph. These two Latin lives were translated into Dutch and published by Wouter Bor, a Carthusian monk from Monnikshuizen near Arnhem (now The Netherlands), their appearance in the vernacular ensuring a wider distribution of the lives. Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family,' p. 105. I have, unfortunately, been unable to locate the pageant about Mary and Joseph's wedding.

⁵¹. Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family,' p. 105.

⁵². Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family,' p. 105.

⁵³. Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family,' pp. 101, 105 and 106. This apocryphal narrative, as found in the *Legenda sanctae Emerencianae* (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels 4837, fol. 122r - 167r) describes how Anne's family tree is revealed to the disciples of hermits Elijah and Elisha on mount Carmel in a vision (making them the precursors of the Carmelites), when Emerentiana comes asking for advice; should she wed or remain a virgin ? After three days of prayer the monks see a vision of a tree with many branches, described thus by Brandenburg :

One branch looks more beautiful than all the others and bears an exquisite fruit on which an even more beautiful flower blooms. A voice from Heaven provides the explanation: the tree with many branches represents Emerentiana's marriage. A daughter will be born of this union and she will then bear the exquisite fruit, namely Mary. Mary, a virgin, will then give birth to the flower, that is Christ. The many branches represent Emerentiana's descendants [...]

Emerentiana's husband is selected by means of his virtue : the first six suitors are killed because they approach Emerentiana for her beauty, wealth, origins or family, or out of lust but Stollanus of the House of Judah succeeds, and Anne and her sister Hysmeria (mother of Elizabeth and grandmother of John the Baptist) are born. The apocryphal story of Joachim and Anne's childbearing late in life was modelled on the Old Testament story of Elkinah and Hannah. The narrative of Emerentiana and Stollanus was also created from Old Testament borrowings; it is clearly indebted to the Old Testament narrative of Sarah from the *Book of Tobit*, where Sarah

has seven suitors, all killed by the devil because they were motivated by lust before the chaste and virtuous Tobias is able to win her hand, beginning their marriage with mutual prayer and abstinence. Although Van Denemarken includes the story of Emerentiana and Stollanus as described above in both his works, in what became *Die Historie van Sint-Anna* he offers an alternative interpretation of the tree vision from that in the *Die historie, die ghetiden* which is translated and explained as follows by Brandenburg:

The brothers also see a beautiful tree with many branches bearing fruit, which is subsequently plucked, in this version. It is the image of the birth of Hysmeria that is evoked in a natural way. Later the tree withers but a second delicious fruit is attached to the dead wood in a blinding light. A voice announces that Emerentiana will still bear a daughter at an advanced age as the result of a miracle. Only when Emerentiana is 61 and Stollanus 71 is this promise fulfilled.

As with Anne and Joachim conceiving Mary in their old age, so it is with Emerentiana and Stollanus, making Anne's birth, like her daughter's miraculous and a blessing from God.

⁵⁴. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 108.

⁵⁵. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 108.

⁵⁶. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 110.

⁵⁷. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 111.

⁵⁸. The *Legendae Sanctae Annae* was written along with Dominicus van Gelre from Aachen, Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 111.

⁵⁹. The *Legendae* was a great success in Germany and was translated into German, Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 111.

⁶⁰. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 111.

⁶¹. Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' p. 112.

⁶². Schiller, *Iconographie*, pp. 76 - 80.

⁶³. For a detailed study of the medieval stained glass in Lincoln Cathedral see N. J. Morgan, *The medieval painted glass of Lincoln Cathedral. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain. Occasional Papers 3* (London : published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1983). Morgan argues that the Betrothal of Mary scene (plate 6) which is now part of the North Rose or Dean's Eye, could have been part of a window dedicated to the Life of the Virgin, of which only the betrothal scene and that of the Virgins accompanying Mary in the Temple (hitherto thought to be a portrayal of the Foolish Virgins of Matthew 25 : 1- 14) survive. N. J. Morgan, *Lincoln*, p.30. Morgan dates this glass as before 1280 but Marks suggests an earlier date of c. 1235 and possibly as early as 1220, for the North Rose, Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, p. 125.

⁶⁴. At one time held in the private collection of C. W. Dyson Perrins, N. Morgan, *A Survey of the Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 3. Early Gothic Manuscripts [I], 1190-1250* (London : Harvey Miller, 1982), p. 63.

⁶⁵. N. Morgan suggests that The New Testament Picture Book was in the region of Bury St. Edmunds in the fifteenth century because of the inclusion of a miniature depicting the story of St. Robert of Bury (f. 44) whose relics were at the abbey and whose cult was local, Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 121.

⁶⁶. The content of Books of Hours derived from the official service-books of the Church but they were produced as personal prayerbooks of the wealthy laity. The Book of Hours evolved from the practice of reciting the 'Little Office of Our Lady' (Officium parvum beate Marie Virginis). This 'Little Office' appears to have developed in England in the eleventh century and its recitation spread from the religious orders to the clergy to the laity. No two Books of Hours are exactly alike, but the following texts generally appear, although they may vary in number and order :

-
1. Calendar
 2. Sequences of Gospels
 3. The Prayer 'Obsecro te' } prayers to
 4. The prayer 'O intermerata' } Mary
 5. Hours of the Virgin
 6. Hours of the Cross
 7. Hours of the Holy Spirit
 8. Penitential Psalms
 9. Litany
 10. Office of the Dead
 11. Suffrages of the Saints

details from J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (Milan : Amilicare Pizzi spa, 1977, reprint 1982), p. 15. Mary Clayton suggests that the Marian Office in England grew out of private devotion. Clayton identifies a very early Office of Mary, possibly created by St. Aethelwold, (abbot of Abingdon and Bishop of Winchester) which may be found in London, British Library MS Titus D. XXVII of c. 1030. A full pre-Conquest Office of Mary can be found in London, British Library MS Tiberius A. iii which is mid-eleventh century and probably from Christ Church, Canterbury. It appears likely that both the Winchester and Canterbury Offices were for liturgical rather than private use. A third type of Office of Mary can be found in the Portiforium of St. Wulfstan, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, written 1065 and believed to have been copied from a Winchester source. This is a short Saturday Office and has texts for the hours of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext and None; Clayton, *The Cult of Mary*, pp. 68 - 77.

⁶⁷. It believed by Marks to be the earliest fully illustrated example in English art of a Book of Hours, Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, p. 119. De Brailes was a clerk and illuminator who worked at Oxford between c. 1230 - 1260 and the manuscript was created relatively late in this period. His name appears on ff. 43 and 47, the former beside a picture of a tonsured clerk and the words, *qui me depeint*. The rubrics which describe the pictures and historiated initials (now sadly trimmed as a result of rebinding, in the fifteenth century in Italy) are in French, suggesting that the female owner was French speaking. De Brailes is discussed by Harthan, *Books of Hours*, p.13. A detailed description of the codex can be found in Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, pp. 119 - 121. I am grateful to Penelope Wallis for describing the marriage scene in detail to me at her lecture, *Medieval Lives of the Virgin Mary* (British Museum) on 8 October, 1993.

⁶⁸. For a detailed description see N. Morgan, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 4. Early Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1250 - 1285* (London : Harvey Miller, 1988) pp. 140 - 142. Morgan argues that the Hours was made for a patron outside of Oxford, possibly for a Lincoln destination as Oxford was at the southernmost extremity of the diocese of Lincoln.

⁶⁹. The Latin text appears in *The Lyf of Oure Lady: The Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie ed. from MS St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, E. I.I*, ed., S. M. Horrall (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1985). Hales' *VSM* was much copied in England, as well as on the Continent, in the fourteenth century. The copies produced in England can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 102, ff. 5v - 27v (early fourteenth century), Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 437, ff. 65r - 86v (early fourteenth century), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 655, ff. 259v - 264 (1302 - 3) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Additional A. 268, ff 85r - 108v (early fifteenth century). Hales seems to have been based in London in the mid-thirteenth century and to have been a friend of Adam Marsh (c. 1168 - 1253), Bishop of Lincoln and head of the Franciscan School at Oxford, Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 8. We shall meet Marsh later in connection with Eleanor de Montfort. Through his friendships, Hales had access to an active intellectual society. His intellectual interest in the life of Mary can

be seen in the variety of sources which he consults to compile the *VSM*. He promises in his prologue to name his sources in the margin, "[...] auctoritate singula manifeste in margine studii declarare," Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 29. Hales' key source for details of the Holy marriages is the *Evangelium* but he also uses biblical passages and the works of certain Church Fathers ; a Latin translation of John Damascene's *De Fide Orthodoxa* (a mid-eighth century Greek text), Jerome's *De Perpetua Virginitate Beate Mariae Adversus Helvidium*, Augustine's *De Sancta Virginitate* and the Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 195, 'Homily on the Annunciation,' previously mentioned in relation to the Anglo-Saxon lyric, *Christ I*. He also used more contemporary sources ; the English Marian devotee Saint Anselm (1033 - 1109), borrowing from his *De Conceptu Virginali* and from Bernard of Clairvaux's (d. 1153) *Epistola* 174, Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 113. In the use of Saint Bernard, Thomas shows himself sensitive to the controversy surrounding the specifically English devotion to Mary as Immaculate Conception, for in Letter 174 Bernard opposes the idea. Thomas rejects the Immaculate Conception and expresses the opinion of Saint Bernard, that Mary was made sinless *in the womb*, " Sanctus igitur ortus, quoniam immensa prodiens ex utero sanctitas sanctum fecit illum," Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 45. By calling his work a *Vita* Hales may be seen to be catering for the vogue for hagiography at the time in which he was writing.

⁷⁰. Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 45.

⁷¹. As further evidence to support this Horrall argues that another of Hales' writings, the *Luue Ron* was written for *quaedam puella*, and one of his Anglo-Norman sermons appears in a manuscript containing a copy of a text which has been adapted for women, Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 26. Patience, obedience and ascetic practices in a religious life, are not, however, the preserve of either gender. The coupling of the Anglo-Norman sermon with a text adapted for a female audience may state more about the *modus operandi* of the manuscript compiler than Hales' original intended audience. The *Luue Ron* may have been Hales' sole production for women and cannot alone be used as evidence of Hales' predilection for preaching to women.

⁷². O.S. Pickering, 'The Temporale Narratives of the SEL,' *Anglia*, 91 (1973), 425 - 495 (p. 427).

⁷³. O.S. Pickering, ed., *The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ edited from MS BM Stowe 949*, Middle English Texts I (Heidelberg : Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, 1975), p. 36.

⁷⁴. Pickering, *The South English Nativity*, p. 26, 41 - 42.

⁷⁵. Pickering, *The South English Nativity*, p. 43. By the late thirteenth century, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire both had a long association with Marian devotion. The feast of Mary's Conception had been celebrated at Worcester Cathedral after 1125, indeed the cathedral's Dean, Warinus, had requested a sermon for this feast from Osbert of Clare, one of the leading figures in the re-establishment of the feast of the Conception in England. From 1137, Worcester also celebrated a feast of Saint Anne and Osbert's help was solicited once again by Worcester when Warinus and Bishop Simon received written lessons and a rhythmic prayer for Saint Anne's feast from Osbert. Gloucester Cathedral celebrated the feast of the Conception before 1131. Given this history of devotion to Mary and her conception in particular in this part of the country, it is of little surprise that the *NMC* has a probable provenance in the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire area.

⁷⁶. London, British Library Stowe 949 (ff. 88v - 100v), its longest form of 816 lines, and fragments in London, British Library Additional 10626 (ff. 9v - 11v) and Oxford, Bodleian Library S. C. 29430 , now Additional C. 220 (ff. 19r - 20v).

⁷⁷. Saint John's Cambridge, B6, formerly James No. 28, ff. 25r - 35r.

⁷⁸. London, Lambeth Palace 223 (ff. 33r - 43r)
Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 779 (Bodleian Library S. C. 2567) ff. 255r - 57v
Cambridge, Trinity College R.25 (ff. 179r - 83v)
Edinburgh, Advocates Library 19. 2. 1, ff. 66r - 69v) and

Oxford, Rawlinson Poetry 225 (Bodleian Library S. C. 14716), a late and corrupt fusion of versions (a) and (c).

⁷⁹. Pickering identifies where each source has been used in the *NMC* in Pickering, ' Three South English Legendary Poems', pp. 105 - 119. The author of version (a) may have been familiar with the *Pseudo-Matthew* but certainly used De Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* as a source. Version (a) then became the chief source for version (b), which in turn is the main source of version (c). Pickering does suggest that the (a) writer may have written from memory and have been acquainted with the apocryphal legends in general. The section of the *NMC* describing Mary's life in the Temple and her betrothal draws on *Legenda Aurea* , chapter 131, whilst the sections describing Joseph's trouble about Mary and their trial appear to draw on chapters 8 - 12 of the *Pseudo-Matthew*, Pickering, *The South English Nativity*, p. 34.

⁸⁰. Version (b) makes three additions to version (a); a short prologue between the Annunciation and Joseph's trouble, 32 lines on the Annunciation to Zacharius, the Visitation to Elizabeth and the birth of John the Baptist and four lines on the Annunciation to the Shepherds. O. S. Pickering, 'Three South English Legendary Nativity Poems', *Leeds Studies in English. New Series. Volume VIII*, eds., Betty Hill and Stanley Ellis (Leeds : University of Leeds, 1975), 105 - 119 (p. 21). These additions, along with the angelic message to Anne concerning the birth of Mary (ll. 67 - 72) punctuate the *NMC* with the theme of annunciation or dissemination of God's will amongst the people - the very function of the *NMC* itself. Version (c), based on (b), copied the (b) version as far as the end of the trial of Mary and Joseph, repeating the first two of (b)'s additions but truncating Mary and Joseph's journey to Bethlehem and omitting Joseph's search for midwives yet including the story of the midwives in full, Pickering, *The South English Nativity*, p. 10.

⁸¹. Pickering, *The South English Nativity*, p. 26.

⁸². London, British Library Additional 29,434, fols. 1 r - 176v., a small quarto which dates from the close of the thirteenth / opening of the fourteenth century and is written by one hand throughout and London, British Library Additional 18, 362, a small quarto of the fourteenth century. I should like to thank Dr. Michelle Brown of the Manuscript Department, British Library, London, for confirming that Additional 29, 434 is of English provenance. The version of the *VBVMSR* in Additional 29, 434 differs from the German work edited by Vögtlin only in that the English version has marginal notes which explicate the source from which details are taken, such as that which appears on f. 26v and which identifies Theophilus Hystoriographus as source. In this respect, this English copy is closer to the later prose derivative of the *VBVMSR*, the *NVCBVMPAS*. The scribe of Additional 29, 434 was working with a copy of the *VBVMSR* before him, as is demonstrated by his amendments ; on folio 4v *hanc* has been changed to *hoc*, on folio 8v *non* has been added after *nec*, on folio 11v the word *septimum* has been written over the top of the line and on folio 25r *exhibeat* has been altered to *exhibuit*. Each of the amendments reproduces verbatim that which is in the *VBVMSR*, on lines 224, 390, 524 respectively, except for *exhibeat* which reads *exhibebat* on l. 1197 of the *VBVMSR*.

⁸³. London, British Library Additional 10, 432, a German version of the *VBVMSR* written on paper, probably in Flanders in the mid-fourteenth century, contains illustrations.

⁸⁴. The most detailed illustrated study of these wall paintings is to be found in E. W. Tristram and M. R. James, 'Wall-paintings in Croughton Church, Northamptonshire,' *Archaeologia*, 76 (1926 - 7), 179 - 204.

⁸⁵. These images are ; the rejection of Joachim's offering at the Temple, the annunciation to Anne of Mary's birth, the meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, the birth of Mary, the presentation of Mary at the Temple, Mary leaving her home.

⁸⁶. The Salutations are the remains of fifty short prayers to Mary which begin *Ave et gaude Maria mater clemens*.

⁸⁷. A detailed description of the codex can be found in Lucy Freeman Sandler, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 4. Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1285-1385. The*

catalogue. (London : Harvey Miller, 1986), pp. 127 - 129.

⁸⁸. Written as books in praise of the Virgin Mary, *Mariale* comprise a gathering of texts written by different authors. There are no 'set' authors who regularly appear nor a fixed number of works included. The content could include sermons for Marian feast days and tracts concerning her virginity. The works included in *Mariale* are usually Latin. For example, the *Mariale* found in London, Lambeth Palace 52 contains the following :

1. Alexander Hales' (?) *Mariale*
2. Liber Ratheramni de eo quod Christus natus est de uirgine sicut homo.
3. Anselm's 'De conceptione beate virginis dei genitricis.
4. One of St. Bernard's Meditations (184), 'Mentem et oculos ad te regina.

whereas Lambeth Palace 420 contains :

1. A Letter from Humfridus, Prior of Saint Mary de Suwerke (Southwark) and the convent, giving the benefit of their prayers to all who say a mass of the Virgin on Thursdays in London.
2. The *Mariale* - four triplets of sermons for the Annunciation, Purification, Assumption and Nativity of Mary and a thirteenth for general use.

3. De Sibillis.
4. De Antichristo.

5. Pseudo-Jerome on the Assumption, a letter written to Paula and Eustochiam (PL 30, 122).

The genre of *Mariales* appeared first in the twelfth century as Marian devotion spread but were especially popular in England in the fourteenth century. *Mariale* were produced particularly but not exclusively in Benedictine houses. *Mariale* were compiled often for a celibate male audience and donated as a personal gift by a monk to his institution. Listed below are the *Mariale* which have survived from Medieval libraries. Those owned by Benedictine House have been marked with an asterisk :

* Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 22 ; 14th c.; owned by the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.

* Ipswich Central Library MS 4; 14th c.; owned by the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.

* London, Lambeth Palace 420 ; 12th - 13th c.; owned by the Benedictine Priory of the BVM, Hertford.

* Durham Cathedral B.IV.40 & BM Royal 7 A.vi.; 15th c.; owned by the Benedictine Priory of St. Cuthbert, Durham.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 42; 13th/14th c.; owned by the Augustan Priory of BVM and St. John the Baptist, Lanthony, Gloucestershire.

San Marino, Huntingdon MS HM 26560; 14th c.; owned by the Collegiate Church of the BVM, Manchester.

Salisbury Cathedral 62; 13th c; owned by the Cathedral Church of the BVM, Salisbury.

The above details were taken from N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, second edition (London : The Royal Historical Society, 1964). A number of *Mariale* are known to have existed but have not survived, such as the three *Mariale* owned by the Bridgettine monastery of Syon (see Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, p. 84) and the *Mariale* donated to the Priory of the BVM, Swine, Yorkshire see D. N. Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. 3. The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* (British Library in association with the British Academy, 1992), p. 144. In the late twelfth/ early thirteenth century John II, Abbot of Saint Albans (? Johannes de Hertford, abbot 1235 - 60) gave Hertford Priory Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Albans, a *Mariale*, now London, Lambeth Palace 420, which had been given in the first instance to Simon, Prior of Saint Albans by W. Wynsselowe, M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace. Part I. No. 1 - 97* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 597. Further examples of donations of *Mariale* are as

follows (again, the asterisk denotes Benedictine Houses) :

* Ipswich Central Library MS 4; 14th c.; donated by Dom. Johannes de Brinkele, Abbot (1361 - 79) or Johannes Tymworth, Abbot (1348 - 90).

* London, Lambeth Palace 420 ; 12th - 13th c.; donated by Johannes II, Abbot of St. Albans (? Johannes de Hertford, abbot 1235 - 60).

* Durham Cathedral B.IV.40; 15th c.; donated by Johannes Manbe (sub-prior 1490).

San Marino, Huntington MS HM 26560; 14th c.; donated by Thomas La Warre, (founder, d. 1427).

The above details were taken from Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. It is possible that Saint Albans had a number of such works and could afford to make a gift of one of them. Female houses received such gifts also. The Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Swine, Yorkshire, which housed Cistercian nuns, owned a *Mariale* in the late fourteenth century which had been donated by Peter, the Vicar of Swine, Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, p. 144. One may assume that Peter felt the *Mariale* to be edifying for the nuns. The Brigettine monastery of Syon, Isleworth (founded 1415), in which men and women worshipped together and dwelt in adjoining houses, owned three *Mariale*. They are recorded as items K35, K36 and K46 in the catalogue of Syon manuscripts, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 141, an early sixteenth century manuscript not later than 1526. Section 'K' is devoted to history and records the *Mariale*; 'Quoddam Mariale de narrationibus et miraculis eiusdem' and 'Mariale de miraculis & narrationibus beate Marie', donated by Simon Wynter (d. 1448), I. Ravyn and Thomas Alen respectively. All three *Mariale* are ascribed in the Index to Jacobus de Voragine, who was, as we have seen, the author of the most widely circulated 'biography' of Mary in the *Legenda Aurea*, Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, p. 84.

⁸⁹. The first volume is the earlier of the two which James and Jenkins date to the fourteenth century, the second is later but still of this period, James and Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 85. Lambeth 52 contains five works; volume one opens with an *Alphabetical Index* of praises to the Virgin attributed to Jacobus de Voragine (f.1), followed by a lengthy work which is called *The Mariale* and which spans both of the volumes (volume I, ff. 2 - 65v and volume II, ff. 67v - 210 r). Volume two contains the following along with the continuation of *The Mariale*; *Liber Rathamni de eo quod Christus natus est de Virgine sicut homo* (ff. 201 - 204v), a copy of Rat(h)ramnus of Corbie's, ninth century work in ten chapters (PL 121, cols. 81 - 102), Saint Anselm's book on the *Conception of the Blessed Virgin* (ff. 205v - 207) (PL 159, 310), the chapters of the six books of *The Mariale* and Saint Bernard's Meditation on the Virgin, number 184, *Mentem et oculos ad te regina* (ff. 208 - 209r) (PL 184, 1009). The works contained within the *Mariale* span some four hundred years and are all Latin compositions.

⁹⁰. K. W. Humphreys, ed., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. The Friars' Libraries* (The British Library in association with the British Academy, 1990) p. 234. The prologue tells us that *The Mariale* was written by ' a quodam fratre ordinis predicatorum' (Volume II, f. 67) and mentions R. de Fissacre (Richard of Fishacre, d. 1248) as a contemporary of the author. Hales' dates would not preclude him from being Robert's contemporary. He would certainly have been capable of amassing and assimilating those sources of *The Mariale* cited in the manuscript; he was a scholar, whose works included *Postillae super Job*, a *Summa Theologiae* and *Super Sententias*. Dutschke has located three English manuscripts, in addition to Lambeth 52, which include copies of Hales' *Mariale*; Salisbury Cathedral 62, a thirteenth century manuscript owned by the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and which lacks substantial parts of the text, San Marino, California, Huntington Library 26560, a mid fourteenth century manuscript donated to the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Manchester by its founder, Thomas la Warre (c. 1342 - 1427) who converted the rectory of Manchester into a collegiate church and Cambridge, Pembroke College 22, a fourteenth century manuscript, owned by the Benedictine Abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds, C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance*

Manuscripts in the Huntingdon Library, Volume I (San Marino, California : The Huntingdon Library, 1989), p. 659. It is probable that the Carmelites at Hulne owned a copy of Hales' *Mariale* (before 1366) as did the Franciscans at Reading, Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, pp. 168 and 234. Hales' work may be that of which Syon owned three copies. The ascription to Voragine in the Syon copies might result in the inclusion, as in Lambeth 52, of Voragine's alphabetical index. As the manuscripts no longer exist, this can only be surmised.

⁹¹. Book One contains figures and prophesies about Mary from the Old Testament, Book Two details the figures and parables of Christ's Incarnation, Book Three contains parables from the Gospels and other New Testament books, up until the birth of Mary, Book Four contains a life of Mary which relates her early life in the Temple, dwelling on this in some detail and then detailing her marriage to Joseph and the reasons why they married, followed by Annunciation and Nativity, Book Five describes the Nativity up until Mary's Assumption and Book Six describes Mary's Assumption.

⁹². Many of the other sources are Church Fathers, both Eastern and Latin, whilst a number are English and closer to Hales' own period; Saint Anselm (c.1033 - 1109), Robert of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, d. 1253) and Edmund of Canterbury (Edmund Rich (?), Archbishop of Canterbury, c.1175 - 1240). Hales appears to have assimilated over nine hundred years of Mariology, both Eastern and Western, in the creation of his work.

⁹³. This is suggested by the number of donations of Alexander Hales' work to monastic institutions; Salisbury Cathedral, the Benedictines at Bury Saint Edmunds, the Carmelites at Hulne, the Franciscans at Reading and possibly the Bridgettines at Syon.

⁹⁴. S. M. Horrall, 'For the Commun at Understand : Cursor Mundi and its Background,' in M. Sargent, ed., *De Cella in Seculum* (London : Cambridge : Brewer, 1989), p. 97.

⁹⁵. *Cursor Mundi. (The cursor of the World). A Northumbrian poem of the fifteenth century in four versions*, ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 57, 99, 101 (volume I) and 59, 62 (volume 2) (London : Oxford University Press, 1874 - 93).

⁹⁶. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. iii (which is the most complete version and from which all quotations are taken unless otherwise stated), Oxford, Bodleian Library Fairfax 14, Gottingen University Library, Theol. 107r and Cambridge, Trinity College Library (or Wren Library) R. 3. 8. Fairfax 14 contains peculiarities of a West Midlands dialect whilst Cotton Vespasian A. iii. and Gottingen Theol. 107r exhibit the characteristics of a Northumbrian dialect that its editor, Richard Morris, believes it to be a Northumbrian poem, Morris, *Cursor Mundi*, Volume I, EETS OS 57, p. 1.

⁹⁷. Horrall, ' For the Commun at Understand,' p. 101.

⁹⁸. The verbal echoes of Wace are quite obvious. These have been identified by R. Morris, *Cursor Mundi*, Volume I, pp. 11- 23. Why not one of the apocrypha ? The writer's choice may be explained by what today would be called his patriotic bias. As we have seen, he has demonstrated his preference for the English language in the prologue. He naturally then uses an English source, where available. Here, admittedly, it is an Anglo-Norman source which the *Cursor* writer has to translate but its author had been close to all three Henrys of England (he had been cleric to them all).

⁹⁹. It has survived whole and partially in five manuscripts covering the period 1325x1475; Oxford, Ashmole 43 (Bodleian Library SC 6924) (ff. 208v - 12r), dating 1325x1350, London, British Museum Egerton 1993 (ff. 27r - 30r), 1350x1400, Oxford, Bodleian Laud Miscellany 622 (Bodleian Library SC 1414) containing the Prologue only, 1375x1400, Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 779 (Bodleian Library SC 2567) (ff. 271v - 72v), 1425x75 and Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2234 (pp. 353 - 358), second half of the fourteenth century.

¹⁰⁰. Pickering, ' Three South English Legendary Poems,' pp.106 - 107.

¹⁰¹. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 43 (ff. 208v - 212r) dating from some point between

1325 and 1350.

¹⁰². Pickering, 'Three South English Legendary Poems,' p. 110.

¹⁰³. In Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2344 (pp. 353 - 358), a manuscript which McKitterick and Beadle date to the second half of the fourteenth century, the *CM* is placed at 26 July, the feast of Saint Anne, R. Beadle and R. McKitterick, comp., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Volume 5. Manuscripts. Part i : Medieval* (Woodbridge : D.S. Brewer , 1992), p. 70.

¹⁰⁴. The *VL* survives complete in only Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vernon (English Poetry a. 1, S.C. 3938), ff. 6v - 9r which is the earliest from around 1370 and partially in three others; London, Lambeth Palace 223 (ff. 31v - 3r), London, British Library Stowe 949 (ff. 100v - 102r) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 779 (Bodleian Library SC 2567) (ff. 244v - 49r). This latter manuscript, dating from some point between 1425x75, also contains version (c), the shortened recension of the *NMC* (ff. 255r - 57v) and lines 157 - 278 of the *CM* (ff. 271v - 72v). The manuscript was not available for examination as it is being renovated. The compiler would seem to have had an interest in Marian poetry.

¹⁰⁵. Indeed, in two manuscripts in which *VL* survives, it is only the prologue which deals with the Elsinus miracle which has been copied, while the remainder of the poem is omitted. Both British Library, Stowe 949 (ff. 100v - 102r) and London, Lambeth Palace 223 (ff. 31v - 3r) contain only the miracle, 113 and 114 lines respectively. The omission of the remainder of the *VL* may be explained by the contents of both Stowe 949 and Lambeth 223. Both contain the *NMC* (version (a) in ff. 88v - 100v in Stowe and the only complete copy of version (c) in ff. 33r - 43r in Lambeth) which would provide the details of Mary's early life. To include the Elsinus miracle suggests an interest in the actual feast of Mary's Conception and devotion particularly to her mother, Saint Anne, feasible since both Stowe 949 and Lambeth 223 are late fourteenth century manuscripts and may have been produced at around the time when the feast of Anne (26 July) was instituted in 1381.

¹⁰⁶. G. C. MaCaulay, ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower. The French Works*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1899), pp. xiii and xvi.

¹⁰⁷. Two fifteenth century manuscripts, Windsor, Saint George's Chapel, E. I. I., ff. 53r - 87v and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Miscellany 174, 38r - 69r, both contain the same English translation of Hales' Latin *VSM*. Both codices are small and contain a collection of texts. Windsor, St. George's Chapel, E. I. I. contains :

The present text

Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* in Latin

Proverbs in Latin and Middle English

A middle English lyric 'Keep well Christ's Commandments'

Richard Maydestone's Seven Penitential Psalms

Part of the ME *Meditationes de Passione Christi*

Twenty-four lines of proverbial verse in ME

Eight lines in a later hand

A few lines of Latin

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174 contains :

Maydestone's Penitential Psalms

Commentary on the Song of the Three Children

The Athanasian Creed

The present text

Part of a prose translation of the ME *Meditationes de Passione Christi*

An exposition of Psalm 36 : 19 from Rolle's expanded commentary

Short Rule of Life

Rules for the confession of sin
Meditations attributed to Anselm
Three Arrows of Doomsday
Mirror of Sinners

Both codices contain several items in common in addition to the translation of *VSM*, Richard Maydestone's version of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, writings of Richard Rolle (his Latin *Emendatio Vitae* in Windsor and his exposition of *Psalm 36 : 19* in Laud Misc. 174) and an excerpt from the *Middle English Meditationes de Passione Christi*, the latter appearing in this form only in these two manuscripts, Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸. As quoted in Horrall, *The Lyf of Oure Lady*, pp. 19 and 20..

¹⁰⁹. Windsor Castle E. I. I. is a small codex of 95 leaves, with a written area of 80 x 140 cms. Laud Misc. 174 has a written area of 80 x 110 cms and consists of 95 leaves

¹¹⁰. These miniatures are from a set of eleven scenes of the early life of Mary, including her mother and father's relationship, which surround the main illustration on that folio, which is of the Annunciation, Janet Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours* (London : The British Library, 1990), p.

22.

¹¹¹. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, p. 37.

¹¹². The Elland glass is described in Painton Cowen, *A Guide to Stained Glass in England* (London : Joseph, 1985), p. 218. Unfortunately I have been unable to examine them.

¹¹³. The date of the glass at Great Malvern Priory is given as fifteenth century by Painton Cowen, *A Guide to Stained Glass*, p. 244. Cowen identifies the Holy marriage scenes as belonging to the tracery lights of the 'Museum Window' in the north chancel aisle. He suggests that one scene portrays the betrothal of Anne and Joachim.

¹¹⁴. Marks is more specific in that he identifies the window containing the scenes from the Life of Mary as also including episodes from the Life of Christ. This easternmost north choir clerestory window contains the Annunciation to Joachim, the meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden gate and the Presentation of Mary at the Temple. He finds that Mary features prominently in various tracery lights and it must be in these that her reluctance to marry and her betrothal to Joseph feature. Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, p. 70.

¹¹⁵. The windows in the north choir aisle include the Sacraments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Four Latin Doctors of the Church (Pope Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine).

¹¹⁶. L. A. Hamand, *The Ancient Windows of Great Malvern Priory* (St. Albans : The Campfield Press, 1947, third edition Upton on Severn : Severnside Printers Limited 1995), p. 2.

¹¹⁷. The glass is described in Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, p. 183.

¹¹⁸. Hilary Wayment writes that the lady Chapel at Fairford, which houses the Betrothal window, was completed by January 1497 when John Tame directed in his will that he was to be buried there. It was ready for glazing in 1497, Hilary Wayment, *The Stained Glass of the Church of St. Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire*. The Society of Antiquaries of London. Occasional Paper (New Series) V (London : The Society of Antiquaries, 1984), p. 2. Painton Cowen dates the glass 1497x1500, *A Guide to Stained Glass*, p. 108. Sarah Crewe suggests that the workshop which glazed the windows was led by a master from the Low Countries, Sarah Crewe, *Stained Glass in England c.1180 - 1540* (London : H.M.S.O., 1987), p. 8.

¹¹⁹. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Saint Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, Titchfield, Hampshire, founded on the 20 September, 1232 by Bishop Peter des Roches, owned several copies of apocryphal gospels. In the library catalogue compiled between 1400x1405 and recording the contents of the library on 29 September, 1400 (London, British Library MS Additional 70507), one finds along with a copy of the *Legenda Aurea*, Item E. iii. 61k, the *De Natiuitate beate Mariae*, of which the library owned two copies and which Bell identifies as

possibly the *Evangelium*. Item N. VII. 167g, the *De Ortu et Natiuitate et Uita Sancte Dei Genitricis* is identified by Bell as either the *Protevangelion* or the *Evangelium*, Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, p. 6. As the codices no longer exist it is impossible to be more precise.

¹²⁰. Rosemary Woolf cites the first appearance of the cycle plays as c. 1375. Woolf gives the earliest surviving references to these plays as 1376 for York and 1372 for Coventry. Recognising that these dates provide only a terminus post quem, Woolf warns against assuming a substantially earlier date for the plays. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California : University of California Press, 1972, reprint 1980), p. 355, note 1.

¹²¹. These plays were performed on Corpus Christi Day, a moveable feast instituted in the fourteenth century, which fell between 23 May and 24 June and which involved outdoor celebrations (a procession following the Host or Body of Christ as it was paraded around the locality), R. Beadle and P. King, eds., *York Mystery Plays. A Selection in Modern Spelling* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1984), p. x.

¹²². I. Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts amd Records of Britain. A Chronological Topography to 1558*. Studies in Early English Drama, no. I (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 76.

¹²³. P. Meredith, ed., *The Mary Play from the N.town Manuscript* (London and New York : Longman, 1987), p. 1 argues quite conclusively that both the Mary-Play and the Pageants existed separately. They would have been composed thus (---- indicates where the pageant cycle has incorporated excerpts from the 'Mary Play') :

<i>Extant Pageants</i>		<i>Mary Play</i>
(numbered after Block's edition)		
Tree of Jesse		
8 Conception of Mary	-----	Conception
9 Mary in the Temple	-----	Mary in the Temple
10 Betrothal of Mary	-----	Betrothal of Mary
11 The Annunciation		{ Parliament of Heaven & { Annunciation
12 Joseph's Doubts About Mary		
13 Visit to Elizabeth	-----	The Visit to Elizabeth
14 Trial of Mary and Joseph		

¹²⁴. Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, p .6.

¹²⁵. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, pp.6-7.

¹²⁶. The *N.town Mary play* may be compared with a complete cycle of seven pageants which was written in Dutch about the Virgin Mary, specifically to be performed in the Grand Place in Brussels in 1448 (it was last performed in 1558). The pageants charted Mary's life in terms of her Seven Joys but only the first, *Die Erste Blyschap van Onzer Vrouen* (Annunciation) and the last *Die Zevenste Blyschap van Onzer Vrouwen* (Assumption) exist. The middle five are lost. Each pageant was long (The Annunciation is 2200 lines). They were produced by the Rederijker Kamer, chambers of rhetoric attended mostly but not exclusively by merchants, churchmen, doctors, lawyers and writers, and were devoted to the development of rhetoric, by which they meant poetry. The First Joy of Mary establishes Mary's place in the scheme of Salvation and includes the relationship of Anne and Joachim, the conception and birth of Mary, her marriage to Joseph and the Annunciation. The play has been edited by H. J. E. Endepols., ed., *Vijf Geestelijke Toneelspelen Der Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Bibliotheek der Nederlandse letteren, 1940). The various forms of contact (trade and settlement) between East Anglia and the Low Countries offer at least a possibility that there is some Dutch influence in this English drama.

¹²⁷. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 11.

¹²⁸. The life appears in ff. 185v - 215r of the University of Minnesota MS Z. 822, N. 81 (

formerly Philips 8122), Bell, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, p .6.

¹²⁹. Cambridge, Trinity College 601 (English Poets R.3. 21), a manuscript which contains chiefly poems by John Lydgate, dates from the time of Edward IV (1461 - 83) and whose provenance Parker identifies as Suffolk, and Chethams Library 8009, a manuscript of the latter half of the fifteenth century, R. E. Parker, ed., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, EETS OS 174 (London : Oxford University Press, 1928), p. xi.

¹³⁰. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 407 (SC 10234), a fifteenth century manuscript and in British Library, Harley 4012, also from the fifteenth century. Parker, states that Tanner 407 was made in the N.E. Midlands from a London copy of a Northern original and Harley 4012 is an East Midlands' version of this London copy, Parker, *The Life of Saint Anne*, p. xxvi.

¹³¹. Parker, *The Life of Saint Anne*, p. 137, n.435.

¹³². Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, pp. 414 - 427.

¹³³. There are some from the sixteenth and plenty from the seventeenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, the Findern Anthology (Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 1. 6) almost qualifies but is collective not individual. It is a collection of poetry put together over some years by members of the Findern family of Derbyshire, their friends, relatives and servants. Some women's names appear in the manuscript, which may be those of scribes; several of the poems are written from a woman's viewpoint.

¹³⁴. *Commonplace Books* were a late medieval development, usually written on paper and invariably the work of the rural bourgeoisie or the urban mercantile class, Carol Meale, 'Eclecticism and the fifteenth century reader : Positioning the Common Place Books of Robert Reynes and Robert Melton,' (unpublished) paper given at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1994.

¹³⁵. Tanner 407 comprises nine quires (paper), containing 120 entries in total, Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, pp. 25 - 7.

¹³⁶. Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, p. 32.

¹³⁷. Founded during the time of Edward I by the Bigod family for Canons regular, Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, p. 36.

¹³⁸. John Marshall, 'Fragments of a culture' : The Reynes extracts and the Guild Drama of East Anglia,' (unpublished) paper given at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1994.

¹³⁹. Quire two contains the following items related to Saint Anne (numbered following Louis):

46. *The Trinubium of Saint Anne* (in ME)

47. *Est tuus Anna pater* (a Latin memnonic to recall Anne's parents)

48. *Summary of the Lineage and Family of Saint Anne* (in ME)

49. *The Life of Saint Anne* [conflated in Parker with Harley 4012 and termed *Life of Anne: (Type C)*]

50. *Two miracles of the Virgin*

Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, p. 11. Louis notes also that although there is little decoration in the manuscript, there are seven spaces left for illuminated capitals of initial letters, six of whom appear in the quire devoted to Anne material (on ff. 21r, 22r, 25v, 28r, 29v, 30r), Louis, *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes*, p. 14. This intended decoration may suggest that Reynes envisaged some kind of public function for this section of his book.

¹⁴⁰. Parker, *The Life of Saint Anne*, p. xxv. The three versions of the *Life of Anne* were written to enhance and promote the celebration of her feast day. *Type A* appears in a homily collection for feast days. *Type B* contains the following lines :

Thys day, dere brethern, most specyally

In honour of thys matrone ferre and nere [...]

And in thys day togedyr we byn come. (*Type B* ll. 247-251)

and

Most dere brethern, thys day to vnyrstond,
 As hit apereth by the story,
 We halow and worshyp in euery lond
 Of seynt Anne chefe the festfull memory [...] (ll. 106 - 9)
 which clearly connect the poem with the observance of Saint Anne's feast day. As noted above,
Type C (but only Tanner 407) was made for the purpose of celebrating Saint Anne's feast;
 And blyssed be alle tho þat make onest merth
 In þe worchepe of Sent Anne *in thys tyme of zeere*.
 (*Type C*, Tanner 407, ll. 55-6 ; emphasis my own)
 Harley 4012 alone does not serve this function.

¹⁴¹. Marshall, 'Fragments of a culture.'

¹⁴². Marshall, 'Fragments of a culture.'

¹⁴³. Baugh, 'Osbert of Clare, The Sarum Breviary and the Middle English Saint Anne,' 106 - 113
 details where the life has used the Breviary.

¹⁴⁴. The *lectiones* are themselves the discourses which Osbert of Clare wrote about Saint Anne at
 the request of Bishop Simon and Dean Warinus of Worcester in 1137, to enrich Worcester's
 celebration of a feast of Saint Anne, see *chapter one*. Osbert's work can be found in London,
 British Library MS, Cotton Vitellius A XVII, a twelfth century manuscript.

¹⁴⁵. Mary's age and the unusual detail of the rod bearing nuts can be found in the (B) version of
 the *Pseudo-Matthew*, Parker, *The Life of Saint Anne*, p. 128, note 409 and 129, note 518 and 548.
 The *Pseudo-Matthew* B reads:
 et in cuius virga hoc signum apparebit, videlicet illa quae fronderit et nuces protulerit, et de
 cuius cacumine egredietur columba et volabit ad caelos. (emphasis my own)
 and a sign appeared on his rod, it was seen that it blossomed and bore nuts, and from the top a
 dove flew out and up to the heavens.

¹⁴⁶. Osbern's work was edited by M. Serjeantson, ed., *Legendys of Hooly Wummen by Osbern of
 Bokenham* EETS OS 206 (London : Oxford University Press, 1938) and has since been translated
 by Sheila Delaney, trans., *A Legend of Holy Women. Osbern Bokenham's Legends of Holy
 Women*, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame and London : University of Notre
 Dame Press, 1992). In 1447, shortly after Bokenham's death, his versified saints' lives were
 gathered together into a manuscript anthology, now London, British Library Arundel 327 which
 remains the only copy, by Friar Thomas Burgh of Cambridge, to be given to 'a holy place of
 nunnys that 'pei schulde haue mynd on hym & of hys systyr Dame Betrice Burgh,' Gail
 McMurray Gibson, 'Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed : Some East Anglian Texts and
 Talismans,' in Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, 95 - 110 (p. 102).

¹⁴⁷. Delaney, *A Legend of Holy Women*, p. xxi and xxvii.

¹⁴⁸. Delaney, *A Legend of Holy Women*, p. xxx.

¹⁴⁹. Delaney, *A Legend of Holy Women*, p. xxx.

¹⁵⁰. Delaney, *A Legend of Holy Women*, p. 30.

¹⁵¹. Manchester, Chethams Library, MS 27911 (Mun. A. 2. 166), ff. 1 - 85 from the first half of
 the fifteenth century, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 423 (D. 4. 3.), ff. 245 - 92, from the
 second half of the fifteenth century and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.18., f. 1. Chethams
 MS 27911 is a small quarto containing only the Life which appears to be written in a single hand
 in a regular and tidy Anglican formata. The Life is defective at both beginning and end with the
 first and last pages stained and illegible. Dublin, Trinity 423 is a composite manuscript
 containing a copy of William of Nassyngton's (attributed) *Speculum Vitae*, the *Myroure of Lyf* (ff.
 1r - 122v), a single stanza on f. 102v from John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (which is
 discussed below), a chronology of Mary's life stating that Mary was fifteen when she gave birth
 to Christ and sixty-three at her Assumption (f. 105v), two, anonymous Middle English prose
 lives of the Virgin Mary on ff. 123r - 146v and ff. 245r - 292v and a number of treatises and

sermons by Augustine, Anselm's *De Cogitatione* (his *Prayers and Meditations* 1070-1080), the *Liber in Usum Sacerdotum* and a Tabula Alogorism [sic], R. H. Robbins, 'A New Lydgate Fragment', *English Language Notes* 5 (1968), 243 - 7 (p. 246). The identification of the *LTVMTC* in this manuscript is complex. The first Marian life contained in Dublin, Trinity 423 (D. 4. 3), ff. 124 - 147v, has been identified by Colker as a copy of *LTVMTC*, also to be found in the Chetham manuscript 27911 and Cambridge, Trinity B. 2. 18 , M. L. Colker, *Trinity College, Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, Volume II (Aldershot: Published for Trinity College Library, Dublin, by Scholar, 1991), p. 842. Lester, however, states that it is the *second* Marian life, found in Dublin, Trinity 423, ff. 245r - 292v, which is a copy of Chetham 27911 and Trinity, Cambridge B. 2. 18 and hence the *LTVMTC*, G. A. Lester, *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist 2. A History of manuscripts containing ME prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester* (Cambridge : Brewer, 1985), p. 92. Robbins describes this second life as a prose *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary with Saint Anne and Christ* but does not identify it, Robbins, 'A New Lydgate Fragment', p. 245. I have been able to examine only the Manchester manuscript and can confirm that it contains a life of Mary (her conception, birth, betrothal, ff. 23r - 39r) which is prefaced by the stories of Adam and Eve and Noah and which continues with the life of Christ up until his ministry and the miracle of the loaves and fishes. Klinefelter describes the *first* life Dublin 423 (that which appears on ff. 123a - 46b) as containing the allegory of the Four Daughters of God and concludes that this life draws on *Pseudo-Matthew*, the *MVC* and the Vulgate, R. A. Klinefelter, 'The Four Daughters of God : A New Version,' *JEGP*, 52 (1953), 90 - 95 (pp. 91 - 2). This allegory is not in the Chethams manuscript which would seem to confirm Lester's opinion that it is the *second* life in the Dublin manuscript which is the *LTVMTC*. In Cambridge, Trinity B. 2. 18, *LTVMTC* is combined with a popular fifteenth century Middle English translation of the *MVC* by Nicholas Love, prior of Mount Grace Charterhouse, whose work will be discussed below. The section of *LTVMTC* taken from Love's work begins with Christ's life from the Last Supper and Passion. Sargent has suggested that *LTVMTC* may represent what began as a separate translation of the *MVC* which was then abandoned on hearing of Love's translation. The scribe of Cambridge B. 2. 18 combined the extant *LTVTC* with Love's translation, in order to complete the narrative as he saw fit, M. Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ. A critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, Garland Medieval Texts, number 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992), p. xxix.

¹⁵². Lester, *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist 2*, p. 92.

¹⁵³. Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*, p. xxix.

¹⁵⁴. Love's translation is more correctly an abbreviated translation of the *MVC*. Love signalled these abbreviations and alterations in Latin, in his own text. Caxton printed this text in 1484, but the text had already been translated anonymously at some point during the reign of Henry VI (1422 - 61 / 1470 - 1) and exists in London, British Museum, MS Harley 1764, as identified in Thomas Wright, ed., *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, EETS OS 33 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1868, revised edition, 1906), p. xv.

¹⁵⁵. Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, p. xxxii.

¹⁵⁶. Love presented his work to Archbishop Arundel in 1410, as a weapon against Lollardry, Sargent, *Nicholas Love's Mirror*, p. xlv. The work was printed both by Caxton (in 1485 - 6) and by Richard Pynson in 1494, evidence of continued popularity, Klinefelter, 'The Four Daughters of God,' p. 87.

¹⁵⁷. There are forty-two extant manuscripts of the poem, thirty-seven of which are complete or nearly so. In 1484 Caxton printed the poem, Cambridge University Library, *Early English Printed Books 1475 - 1640. Volume I. Caxton to F. Kingston. Notes by Charles Edward Sayle* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1900), pp. 7 and 23.

- ¹⁵⁸. *A critical edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady*, eds., J. A. Lauritis et al., Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 2 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961), p. 1. They argue that it may have been commissioned after Henry had been presented in May 1420, with Jean Galopes' French translation of the *MVC*.
- ¹⁵⁹. Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Volume 3*, p. 93.
- ¹⁶⁰. K. Reichl, 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben aus der Hs. Add. 4122 der University Library in Cambridge,' *Anglia*, 95 (1977), 313 - 378 (p. 313).
- ¹⁶¹. It contains the *Tretys*, a Middle English Life of Margaret and a Middle English Life of Dorothy. The lives of Margaret and Dorothy are thirteenth century, Reichl, 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben,' p. 319. In an effort to date the work, Reichl has noted the parallels between the *Tretys* and John Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*. The parallels, however, are confined to both poems containing similar events; Mary's conception and birth, her early life in the Temple and the selection of Joseph as her husband. This may simply result from the *Tretys* writer reproducing a tried and tested story, known for its popularity and/or using the same sources as Lydgate. As such, comparison between *Tretys* and Lydgate is not particularly helpful, Reichl, 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben,' p. 319.
- ¹⁶². Bede's Commentary on Luke can be found in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout : 1974), 120 : 30 - 31.
- ¹⁶³. E. Duffy, 'Holy maydens, Holy Wyfes : The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century England,' *Studies in Church History*, XXVII (1990), 175- 196 (p. 189).
- ¹⁶⁴. Henry, *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, p.19.
- ¹⁶⁵. Also included in the manuscript is a truncated version of the shortened recension of *NMC* (C), on ff. 179r - 83v. The Trinity manuscript contains only 382 lines of *NMC* (C), beginning with the account of the Massacre of the Innocents and continuing the story to the Purification. It contains a unique text of twenty-two lines explaining the relevance of the medieval feast of Candlemas, Pickering, 'The Temporale Narratives of the SEL,' p. 437. This feast (2 February) commemorated Mary's purification forty days after Christ's birth, according to Jewish custom. In England it also signalled the start of spring plowing, Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of their Own*, p. 98. This feast was marked by an elaborate procession, in which the parishioners carried a candle which then may have been burned before the principal image of the Virgin in the Church, E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580* (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1992), p. 16. One may surmise that the compiler included the translation of *Pseudo-Matthew* as material for the feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September), the extract from *NMC* version C, for the feast of Candlemas (2 February) and the poem explaining the significance of this latter feast.
- ¹⁶⁶. Thus on f. 4. l.18, the Bishop quotes from Psalm LXXV when he says 'Vovete et reddite' and Isaiah 11 : 1 - 2 when the voice in the Temple says, ' Egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris domini.'
- ¹⁶⁷. N. F. Blake, *Middle English Prose* (London : Arnold, 1972), p. 151.
- ¹⁶⁸. *Early English Printed Books*, pp. 7, 9 and 11.
- ¹⁶⁹. Lydgate was in-step with a devotional belief which flowering in the fifteenth century, that of Joseph's perpetual virginity. John Gerson (1363 -1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, had furthered the cult of Saint Joseph in his sermons on the feasts of Mary. He believed Joseph to have been the virginal husband of Mary, O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 157. The historical background and sociological repercussion of this belief has been analysed by Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother : Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue,' in *Medieval Mothering*, eds., John C. Parsons and B. Wheeler (New York and London : Garland Publishing Inc., 1996), 101 - 116.
- ¹⁷⁰. Pickering, 'Three South English Legendary Poems', p. 2.

Chapter Three

Marital theory and English practice in the Middle Ages

Written and visual evidence demonstrates that an interest in Mary's marriage was an aspect of lay Marian devotion particularly in evidence in England between 1200 and 1540. English devotion to Mary's marriage departed from those details found in the apocrypha, to focus on the way in which Mary and Joseph's marriage was celebrated and even, in some instances, on the actual marriage vows exchanged between the holy couple. As devotion to Anne developed, one aspect of this was interest in Anne's marriages. The body of evidence for English interest in the holy marriages at this period is sufficiently great to require explanation. One is therefore prompted to ask why such a devotion to Mary as a wife, and then later to her mother, Saint Anne, occurred in England at this specific moment. Did Mary's devotees find something in her marriage which mediated their own experiences ? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine medieval marital mores, the theory which underpinned them and the channels through which this theory reached those who married.

Section I

The origins of medieval marital theory : New Testament Kerygma and patristic legacy

Writing post Foucault,¹ we are now aware that sexuality and marital mores have a history, and that their definition and practice is neither monolithic nor static. P. Lyndon Reynolds also reminds us that religion, here the practice of marriage, is shaped by prevailing social norms.²

Medieval marital discourse owed much to the legacy of New Testament kerygma and patristic commentary. Saint Paul's often quoted dictum about

marriage appears in his response to marriage queries from the early Christians in Corinth, 'It is better to marry than burn' (1 Corinthians, 7 : 8 - 9), implies ambivalence towards the married state and succeeded only in damning marriage with faint praise. With regard to the Corinthians' questions concerning marital sex, Paul introduces the concept of the marital debt or sexual intercourse on demand, which he makes clear is the both the right and the duty of either spouse to demand and give (1 Corinthians, 7 : 1 - 3).³ Brundage has demonstrated that from its inception, Christian marital discourse did not allow divorce and condemned (but did not forbid) second marriages on the death of a spouse.⁴ Paul's teaching was to underpin Christian marital discourse in successive centuries but, as we shall see, it was open to interpretation.

After the age of the Apostles, Brundage sees little new in marital discourse until the pronouncements of the Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries.⁵ As Christianity struggled to establish itself, sexual intercourse and its effects on those struggling for spiritual perfection became a focus for debate. In around 393, Jerome was prompted to write in his treatise *Adversus Jovinianum*, of the relative spiritual value of being virgin, wife or widow. In the next life virgins would reap a hundredfold reward, chaste widows a sixtyfold and the married a mere thirtyfold, a ranking scheme which Jerome explains arises from an exegesis of Matthew 13 : 8 ' Other seeds fell on good soil and brought forth grain, some a hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty.'⁶ As we shall see, this ranking scheme survived well into the Middle Ages. For Jerome, the marital debt is an obstacle to a true Christian life which is one devoted to virginity and prayer.⁷

Jerome's promotion of the ideal of 'the celibate early Christian' is perhaps to be expected from a celibate man living in the Christian cultural milieu of the fourth

and fifth centuries. Jerome is extreme to the point of being both misogynous and misogynist in his promotion of the celibate ideal over marriage. In taking this stance, however, Jerome effectively excluded from his salvific schema the majority of Christians who continued to marry and produce families and who were crucial to the spread of Christianity. It was Augustine who negotiated the disjunction between doctrinal theory and social practice, in a number of treatises which synthesised patristic thought concerning marriage and marital sex. In *De Bono Conjugali* (c. 401)⁸ Augustine is able to accord marriage some spiritual worth. For Augustine, marriage could be defended as a remedy against youthful concupiscence⁹ and contained three 'goods' or benefits; *fides* (friendship and fidelity), *proles* (the bearing and rearing of children) and *sacramentum* (a sacramental quality or character which unites the participants with Christ's union with the Church and extends to them some form of sacramental grace, but only if they are both baptised¹⁰). Augustine also felt able to justify marital sexual intercourse for the procreation of children.¹¹ Augustine did not see *proles*, however as the chief good of marriage, nor indeed essential for a full, and licit union. Augustine's definition of the three goods of marriage was crucial to both his contemporaries in the early Christian Church and, as we shall see, to subsequent centuries where this formulation is frequently repeated.

The early Church Fathers considered also the question of remarriage. The first general council of the Christian Church (The Council of Nicaea : 315) declared that widows and widowers who remarried should be admitted to communion in the Church and condemned those who taught otherwise.¹² However, at the same time Christian leaders actively discouraged remarriage; the Council of Laodicaea (c. 360) cautioned widows and widowers not to remarry hastily and advised them to

pray and fast before committing themselves to a second marriage, the second Council of Braga (572) required those who remarried to do penance for lascivious conduct.¹³ Remarriage was a spiritually grey area.

The celebration of Marriage in the Patristic Period

During the fourth and fifth centuries the process of regularisation of marriage celebrations began. Church regulations began to require Christians to receive a nuptial blessing from a priest.¹⁴ The form and the location of this blessing varied throughout the Roman Empire. In Gaul the nuptial blessing was given by the priest while the newly wedded couple lay in the marriage bed whilst in Italy the blessing was bestowed upon the couple most commonly at the church door, when they exchanged consent.¹⁵ The eastern rituals (in Syria, Egypt and Palestine) comprise a betrothal at which a ring is exchanged followed by a marriage ceremony presided over by a priest, psalmody, the crowning of the couple by near-relatives, a blessing and the taking of the couple to the bridal chamber.¹⁶ Stevenson suggests that western ritual differed from the above only in that the couple are to be veiled rather than crowned.¹⁷ What is to be stressed is that these rituals were aspects of social practice rather than doctrinal requirements in this period and that the celebration of marriages were not under Church control.

Spiritual marriage

Alongside the development of marital discourse, the phenomenon of spiritual marriage also developed in Christian tradition from the third century.¹⁸ In essence, a spiritual marriage is one in which a man and a woman cohabit in mutual and continuing virginity. Dyan Elliott identifies two types of spiritual marriage of which only one concerns us here; a form of spiritual marriage in which sexual intercourse and the marital debt is renounced where a full, licit marriage already

existed.¹⁹ Doctrinal support for the mutual renunciation of conjugal rights and the payment of the marital debt comes, ironically, from an apologist for marriage, from Saint Augustine himself.²⁰ In Augustine's schema, even if the conjugal debt was renounced, either before or after the birth of children, the other two benefits of marriage, of *fides* and *sacramentum*, would still remain. Indeed, as we have seen, Augustine did not see *proles* as the foremost and only justification for marriage. If the couple in a spiritual marriage remained chaste and together, the marriage was full, licit and intact.²¹ Chaste, spiritual marriage, however, survived to become, as we shall see, a feature of medieval marital practice and of particular relevance to consideration of Mary and Joseph's marriage.

To sum up, the legacy of the New Testament kerygma and patristic commentary was complex and long lasting. Paul taught the early Christians to focus on their spiritual health and the state of their souls in readiness for the next world and to remain virgin or become sexually chaste. For those who were or who wished to be firmly anchored to the social structures of this world, they were to marry only once, into a union that was indissoluble and in which each partner owed the other the marital debt. Although adhering generally to the Pauline teaching concerning marriage, the esteem in which Paul held virginity was enthusiastically taken up by the Christian ascetics, especially Saint Jerome, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, Jerome's writings about virginity bequeathed future generations a misogynist view of marriage which saw marriage and marital sex as a bar to the spiritual perfection which should be every Christian's goal. Jerome's extremism was tempered by Saint Augustine who developed a marital discourse based around the three goods of marriage (*proles*, *fides* and *sacramentum*), suited to a world in which, for the majority of Christians, the

ascetic goal of absolute virginity was impossible or unwanted and who continued to marry and produce families. In terms of the celebration of marriage, few doctrinal prescriptions emerged from this period, except for the desirability of marital unions being blessed by a priest (although even this was not uniformly believed).²² This was the legacy inherited by those who carried out the next examination into Christian marital thought - the canonists of twelfth century Europe.

**The eleventh to the thirteenth century :
the medieval contribution towards a teleology of Christian marriage**

Between the eleventh and thirteenth century marital discourse became a focus for debate once more. Celibacy was still recommended to all and practised by some, but marriage was thrust to the forefront of ecclesiastical debate with an urgency unseen since the early Church Fathers. The Church in the West was under attack from secular social practice, internal strife and heresy, with marriage and its practice the theatre of war.

*Nicolaitism, Catharism, Secular Custom and Anti-Marriage Literature : the
eleventh and twelfth century challenge to Christian marital mores*

As long ago as the 1950s, Christopher Brooke identified a connection between the Gregorian Reform of the Church in the eleventh century (Pope Gregory VII, 1073 - 85) and a renewed interest in the nature and spiritual value of marriage.²³ In a determined effort to eradicate clerical marriage or Nicolaitism²⁴ and demand clerical celibacy, the papacy issued edicts which culminated in the decree of the First Lateran Council (1123), repeated verbatim at the Second Lateran (1139).²⁵ The enforcement of clerical celibacy created a gap between the Church's officials and the lay masses. Marriage was emphasised as a social and spiritual practice suitable for those for whom the higher spiritual ideal of the celibate life was either

unwanted or unattainable.

The twelfth century saw the re-emergence of the Manichean heresy, one aspect of which was the belief that marriage is evil because through procreation, the soul and divine spirit was trapped in matter. Now called *Catharism* or *Albigensianism*, this heresy resurfaced in Northern Italy and Southern France.²⁶ Catharism attacked orthodox marital discourse concerning the need to marry at all, degrees of incest, definitions of fornication and the right of the Church to officiate over marriage ceremonies.²⁷ The medieval Church felt compelled to respond to this heresy before the Catholic West devolved into sexual anarchy and spiritual damnation.

George Duby's work offers a third reason for a renewed interest in marriage in the twelfth century; the persistence of a secular or lay model of marriage which challenged the tenets of ecclesiastical marital discourse.²⁸ In essence, the secular model, which had developed from feudal times, united two individuals from different families or houses to ensure the survival of one house and to maintain feudal social stability. The secular model of marriage involved an agreement or treaty (the marriage contract) and,

The exchange [...] involved a woman, or more precisely her anticipated motherhood, her 'blood' and all that it brought to her new family in terms of both ancestral force (*virtus*) and claims to inheritances.²⁹

Secular marriages were contracted by families rather than individuals whose consent, if sought, was done so more out of courtesy than by requirement. If a woman failed to produce the heir required to inherit her husband's lands, she could be, and in practice was, repudiated for a more productive 'breeder'; such a model of marriage suited perfectly the needs of the feudal aristocracy. The secondary importance of consent in forming these unions was contrary to ecclesiastical

thought since the time of the early Church Fathers and the practice of repudiation contravened the indissolubility of marriage taught since Saint Paul. A number of 'show trials' concerning repudiation and involving the highest echelons of society placed and kept marriage at the forefront of ecclesiastical debate.³⁰

The intellectual climate of the twelfth century was cultivated and dictated by the celibate Latinists. This group espoused a dim view of the intellectual, emotional and companionship value of marriage. *Philosophic misogamy* advocated celibacy because a wife and family are burdensome on the philosopher, to the detriment of his studies.³¹ The most telling example of philosophic misogamy comes supposedly from Heloise (1101 - 1164), the student and then reluctant wife of Abelard (1079 - 1142). Heloise's concerns about how marriage constrains the philosopher are reported by Abelard to a third party in a letter called *Historia Calamitatum : The Story of his Misfortunes*. It reads thus in translation:

What harmony can there be between pupils and nursemaids, desks and cradles, books or tablets and distaffs, pen or stylus and spindles ? Who can concentrate on thoughts of Scripture or philosophy and be able to endure babies crying, nurses soothing them with lullabies, and all the noisy coming and going of men and women about the house ? Will he put up with the constant muddle and squalor which small children bring into the home ? [...] Consequently, the great philosophers of the past have despised the world, not renouncing it so much as escaping from it, and have denied themselves every pleasure so as to find peace in the arms of philosophy alone.³²

England produced a philosophic misogynous tract, well-known in the Middle Ages, called the *Dissuasio Valerii Rufino Coniugorum* (c. 1180) and written by Walter Map (1140 - c. 1209).³³ This type of Latin literature was not aimed at the celibate ascetic, as had been the case with Jerome's writings in the early patristic period, but rather was written by and addressed to the learned 'scholar' figure.

A second form of literary misogamy was current from the twelfth century through to the fifteenth and has been described by Makowski as *general misogamy*.³⁴ Unlike its relative, philosophic misogamy, this branch of

misogamous literature was written for Everyman (much of it is written in or translated into the vernacular) and argues that marriage is madness and hell for the poor, victimised husband whose goods and energies are drained by almighty Woman.³⁵ Again, an example from a general misogynous work will illustrate its principles. The now anonymous versified work, *De Coniuge non ducenda : Against Marrying* was written at some point between 1222 and 1250. Although written in Latin Makowski states that it had vernacular adaptations.³⁶ It gives a dim view of marriage as the following extracted quatrains (in translation) illustrate :

A woman's silly, never staid,
By many longings stirred and swayed.
If husband can't her needs supply,
Adultery's the way she'll try.
[...]
The wicked wife seeks leave to ride
To pilgrims' abbeys far and wide;
The brothels offer more delights
Than visiting the holy sites.³⁷

The wife is depicted as sexually voracious and prone to adultery, using any excuse to attempt to satisfy her lust. The husband is portrayed as a victim. As one can see, misogynous literature was also misogynist in intention. It was a literary tradition which remained popular (in the sense of being both of the people and frequently produced) until its culmination in Chaucer's late fourteenth century masterpiece of anti-marriage satire in the Wife of Bath's *Prologue* and *Tale*.

The historical moment of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was ripe for a discussion concerning marriage. Marriage as an institution for both philosopher and Everyman, was derided in literature as being detrimental to the male participant; in philosophic misogamy, the work of the philosopher is hindered by the fruits of marriage; wife, children and noise, whilst in general misogynous

literature the husband suffered because the wife's sexuality was out of control, existing autonomously outside of patriarchal restrictions. Besieged by Nicolaitism, Catharism and the self-serving marital practice of the powerful aristocracy, the Church needed to respond to these assaults and, as we shall see, reaffirm the validity of marriage for the laity, gain a tighter control over the form and celebration of marriage and the prescription of marital coitus. The Church attempted to gain control, largely due to a group of canon lawyers whose names appear and reappear in the marital debate of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the heart of their arguments lay their attempts to incorporate Mary and Joseph's marriage into their legal, social and canonical definition of 'verry matrimony.'

The Canonists' Response to Marriage and Marital Coitus

Brundage's most recent work has identified a long list of the major canonists of what he terms the *classical period* of canon law (c. 1140 - c. 1350).³⁸ To discuss the contribution to medieval marital discourse of each of the scholars of this period is beyond the scope of this study which will confine itself to an examination of the contribution of three of the most influential canonists: Gratian (fl. c. 1140), Peter Lombard (c.1095 - 1160) and Raymond de Penyafort (1180/5 - 1275).

In a number of aspects the canonists were similar. They all agreed that for a full and licit marriage to be created, the consent of each participant had to be freely given, marking a movement away from the secular model of marriage which perceived it as a family affair, to that of a personal relationship bonded by marital affection.³⁹ They disagreed over the value of marital coitus in forming an indissoluble union, and two distinct and mutually exclusive discourses developed. Those who deemed coitus paramount in forming an indissoluble union have since

been called *coitalists* and those canonists who believed consent alone rendered a marriage full, licit and indissoluble have been called *consensualists*. As we shall see in *chapter four*, both groups endeavoured to incorporate Mary and Joseph's marriage into their canonical schema.

In around 1140, the Bolognese canonist Gratian, completed a text book of canon law which he called *A Harmony of Conflicting Canons (Concordia Discordantium Canonum)*. In his *Decretum* (the short title by which the *Harmony* is usually known) Gratian attempted to construct a coherent marital discourse. Gratian approved of marriage as an institution and insisted that it be monogamous.⁴⁰ He saw marriage as a bi-partite process; marriage was *initiated* when the two parties exchanged words of consent and completed or *perfected* by sexual consummation.⁴¹ In Gratian's discourse 'Coitus without consent to marry is no marriage nor is an exchange of consent that is not followed by intercourse.'⁴² For Gratian the sole purpose of marital coitus was procreation.⁴³

Hugh of Saint Victor and the Paris theologian Peter Lombard strongly opposed Gratian's marital discourse because it placed coitus at the heart of marriage formation. For Hugh, Peter, and like-minded theologians and canonists, consent alone made a marriage full, licit and indissoluble.⁴⁴ For Hugh, marriage was the spontaneous, involuntary and legitimate agreement in which the man and woman make themselves debtors to each other.⁴⁵ In his discourse, true marriage could exist *before* sexual consummation :

True marriage and the true sacrament of marriage can exist even if carnal intercourse has not followed : in fact, the more truly and the sacredly it can exist, the more it has nothing in it at which chastity may blush, but has that of which chastity may boast.⁴⁶

Hugh here values a chaste marriage, what we have termed a spiritual marriage, as the best type of marriage. This is not to say that he deemed coitus valueless: it is a

remedy for concupiscence.⁴⁷

In his theological work *The Sentences (Sententiae)*, Peter Lombard reiterated that the marital bond resulted from consent alone, provided that the consent was given *in the present tense*.⁴⁸ In a further distillation of the consensualists' position, Lombard identified two types of consent; that which is expressed by *verba de presenti (present tense)* and that expressed by *verba de futuro (future tense)*, that is by words promising marriage in the future. The former produced an indissoluble, licit marriage *there and then*, regardless of whether the couple had coitus or not. The latter required coitus to make the marriage complete, that is, full, licit and indissoluble. The definition of marriage as activated by words of present consent became the prevailing canonical marriage doctrine throughout Europe.

Marital Coitus

Marital sex was another aspect of the control of marriage which the Church took very seriously. Ramon de Penyafort can be credited with writing the definitive medieval pronouncement on the status of marital coitus;⁴⁹ he teaches that to have intercourse to procreate and/or *pay* the marital debt is sinless, to have coitus to avoid sexual incontinence (read adultery) is a venial sin whilst it is a mortal sin to have sex for pleasure.⁵⁰ Raymond's teaching was published in 1234 under the title of *Decretals of Gregory IX* or *The Liber Extra* (the principal thirteenth-century collection of post-Gratian canons) and remained in force among Roman Catholics until 1917.⁵¹

Degrees of Incest

Another aspect of marriage which the Church wished to regulate was degree to which each marriage participant was related. Until the thirteenth century the

Church canons had defined marriages contracted within seven degrees of relationship as incestuous and as having an impediment of *consanguinity*. In addition to consanguinity, Christian marital discourse also recognised a marital impediment of *affinity*.⁵² In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council restricted the degrees of consanguinity and affinity from seven to four, 'since the prohibition cannot now be generally observed to further degrees without grave harm.'⁵³

The Celebration of Marriage

As we have seen, the legacy of the Church Fathers concerning the actual celebration of marriage was rather non-committal. A nuptial blessing was desirable and social mores might expect a betrothal before the ceremony and a feast afterwards but none of these rituals was necessary to create a full, licit and indissoluble Christian marriage. All that was necessary was the freely given consent, expressed in words of present tense, of two hitherto unwed individuals, not related within four degrees of consanguinity or affinity. In this period, however, the Church instituted a requirement that a pending marriage be announced publicly. The Fourth Lateran Council decreed that,

[...] when marriages are to be contracted they shall be publicly announced in the churches by priests, with a suitable time being fixed beforehand within which whoever wishes is able to adduce a lawful impediment.⁵⁴

This edict suggests the publication of banns and identifies a role for the church in the formulation of marriage. In England synods demanded that betrothal be publicly celebrated but there is little evidence, according to Brundage, that this was ever systematically enforced.⁵⁵

Cohen and Horowitz argue that by the twelfth century weddings in France had transferred from the home to the church door and that this allowed a priest to conduct a ceremony; asking questions to elicit avowals of consent, blessing a ring,

gifts and a charter.⁵⁶ They admit that this was not universal practice in the Catholic West. Indeed, Brundage cites the prohibition in England by the Second Council of Westminster (? 1247) of couples holding their wedding ceremonies in taverns which suggests that this was a common location for marriages.⁵⁷

By the twelfth century the Church had a well-developed marriage liturgy. The number of *Ordines ad faciendum Sponsalia* which have survived from England allows the detailed reconstruction of English marital liturgy between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁸ Though many are invariably Latin, some of the later examples, such as York, have the vows of consent in English. Their similarities and differences are best demonstrated in tabular form. *Appendix six* identifies the location and components of marriage liturgies in England between the eighth and the early fifteenth century. The details are to be read downwards and the text of a prayer where asterisked, may be found in full in *Appendix seven*.

What one observes is a development of the marriage liturgy, particularly between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which, as we have seen, was the moment when canon law was wrestling with the definition of marriage formation. The early rites demonstrate that marriage in pre-Conquest England was a domestic affair and the Church's role was confined to the saying of a number of prayers. In post-Conquest England the celebration of marriage became a more elaborate bipartite rite, clearly arising from the prayers of the earlier domestic rite, in which the Church played a far greater and more important role. Although regional variations existed, generally one detects a developing pattern and standardisation of marital celebration in the central Middle Ages. From the twelfth century, the celebration of a marriage began before the church door and continued inside where a mass was celebrated. From the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth century there

was the option to carry out the whole ceremony within the church, as we can see in both *York* and *Sarum*. Whether the celebration of the marriage took place partly or wholly within the church, the rite could be followed by a collection of blessings given at the couples' home. Some elements of the nuptial ritual usually occurred at the church door; this is where questions of consent were formally asked, the giving of consent was granted (the 'I do' responses), the couple's hands were joined by the priest, the blessing and giving of a ring from the man to the woman. In the thirteenth century, this part of the ceremony could be augmented by the reading of the dos/dotalium or marriage contract (as in *Anianus*, *Hanley* and *Evesham*). In the mid-fourteenth century both *York* and *Sarum* practice includes an exchange of vows, spoken in the vernacular. As Mary and Anne are the focus of this investigation, the vows of the woman merit quoting in full:

I take the N to my wedded housbonde, to haue and to holde fro this day forward, for better for wors, for richer for pourer, in sycknesse and in hele, to be bonere and boxsom, in bedde and atte bord, tyll dethe vs departe, if holy chyrche it wol ordeyne, and therto I plight the my trouthe.⁵⁹

Stevenson cites a late manuscript as translating 'bonere and boxsom' as 'meek and obedient'⁶⁰ and certainly obedience is at the heart of the woman's vow. The ritual at the church door was concluded by a blessing which often included the Lanalet and Raguel prayers (see *Appendix seven*). The couple then moved into the church whilst Psalm 127 (see *Appendix seven*) was recited (as in *Bury*, *Anianus* and *Hanley*). Mass was celebrated, after which the Nuptial Blessing took place. The *Bury* rite suggests that this involved the prostration of the couple on their knees⁶¹ whilst by the fourteenth century both *York* and *Sarum* the nuptial blessing took place with clerks (four in *Sarum*, two in *York*) holding a pall over the couple.⁶² After the Church ceremony, rites could include a number of blessings at the couples' home (*Bury*, *Ely*, *Evesham*, *York* and *Sarum* have blessings for the

bedchamber), a practice arising from the earliest domestic rite as in *Egbert* and continuing up until and including the fourteenth century.

What conclusions may be offered concerning the celebration of marriage between 1200 and 1540 ? The first observation is that at the same time that the Church felt the need to assert its control over the formation of marriage (in light of twelfth century challenges) one can see a movement of marriage from a domestic rite to an ecclesiastical one which took place *in facie ecclesiae*, performed by a priest at the Church door and then inside. A consequence of this was the development of a marriage liturgy through which the Church could exert its control over this social institution. Post Fourth Lateran, a priest was responsible for making public a couple's intention of marrying, for discovering whether or not the couple were legally free to marry, that their consent was freely given and then to give the woman into the care of the man. The priest was responsible also for giving the Church's approval of the union through nuptial blessings which included the blessing of the only visual symbol that a woman was married - her ring. He presided also over the public statement of the couples' vows to each other. The Church made provision too for the blessing of the marriage chamber and the licit sex (for the procreation of children and the paying of the marital debt only), that would take place therein. Thus, between 1200 and 1540, an elaborate liturgy was constructed for the regulation and public celebration of marriages, at which the Church officiated. The liturgical celebration complemented and put into a public and practical form, the doctrinal theory of marriage formulation devised by the canonists and theologians. As we shall see, there remained, however, a disjunction between marital theory and social practice, well into the later Middle Ages.

Spiritual Marriage in the central Middle Ages

One might imagine that the consensualist theory of marriage, based on the centrality of consent to marriage formation, endorsed spiritual marriage. Theoretically it did so.⁶³ This endorsement was tempered, however, by the Church's efforts to separate clergy from laity by means of their sexual status. Spiritual marriage blurred this boundary and so was subversive of the social hierarchy instituted by the Church, in which the clerical celibate elite ruled and the laity were ruled by them. Spiritual marriage appeared also to replicate the heretical chastity of the Cathars who, where they abstained from sex, did so for the wrong reasons in the belief that marriage and procreative sex trapped souls and the spirit in earthly matter.⁶⁴

In the twelfth century the Church endeavoured to regulate spiritual unions. This was achieved through the institution of two different types of vow of chastity which Elliott describes as a *solemn* vow and a *simple* vow.⁶⁵ The solemn vow was made publicly into the hands of a church official and was enforceable by the Church.⁶⁶ Having made a solemn vow either one or both spouses entered into religion and no subsequent marriage could be contracted.⁶⁷ The simple vow was made by those who wished to remain in the world and is perhaps the truer descendent of early spiritual marriage as described in present chapter. The simple vow could be made without formalities and thus eluded enforcement or even knowledge by the Church.⁶⁸ Finally, spiritual marriage was condemned.⁶⁹

The development of the Sacrament of Marriage

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the doctrine of marriage as a sacrament developed. We have seen already that Augustine identified *sacramentum* as one of the three goods of marriage. By the thirteenth century, marriage was included

among the seven sacraments of the New Covenant. P. Lyndon Reynolds has charted this movement from sacramentum to sacrament.⁷⁰ His synthesis of the vast corpus of marriage sacramental theology itself can only be summarised here, with acknowledgements to the contributions of the most important theorists.

Saint Augustine had identified three benefits in marriage; *proles*, *fides* and *sacramentum*, to demonstrate the essential worthiness of marriage. Augustine's definition of the *bonum sacramenti* ⁷¹ argues that the marriage of Christians contains some special likeness to the union between Christ and the Church and for Augustine this meant that as the union between Christ and Church was indissoluble, so should be too the marital union between two individuals.⁷²

Thomas Aquinas completed the movement from marriage containing a sacramental quality pertaining to Christ's union with the Church to its inclusion in the Seven Sacraments of the New Covenant. As one of the Seven Sacraments, marriage between baptised Christians was believed to confer grace (that is, be spiritually efficacious) on those who participated in it.⁷³

Historical circumstances dictated, once again, that marriage remain at the forefront of ecclesiastical debate. From the mid-fifteenth century in England, the seven sacraments of the New Covenant came under attack from Lollardy. Lollards, who were drawn from educated and uneducated strata of society, questioned the validity of sacred signs, an integral aspect of each of the sacraments.⁷⁴ The Church needed to make the sacraments or seeable signs truly seeable⁷⁵ and did so through a programme of didactic written works and illustrations in the plastic arts, of which font art is one example.⁷⁶ The sacrament of marriage remained in focus throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as a result of the Church's efforts to stamp out Lollardy.

The instance of remarriage

The canon lawyers, whom we discussed above, were aware of the reservations concerning remarriage when they attempted to examine remarriage in their law-books. Gratian discussed remarriage in his *Decretum*, citing one ancient authority who maintained that remarriage of a widow was a type of fornication and another who described the remarried widow as not much different from a prostitute.⁷⁷ Gratian concludes, however, that these statements must be understood as efforts to persuade widows to practice continence, not as condemnations of second or third marriages and then cited other authorities who taught that widows had every right to remarry.⁷⁸ Even if remarriage was canonically legal, there remained unresolved problems with regard to the celebration of second marriages. As we have seen, although marriages were not required to be performed *in facie ecclesiae* with a nuptial blessing for them to be valid, this was what the Church encouraged. It was common, however, for second marriages to be denied a nuptial blessing, the legality of which Gratian provides no explanation.⁷⁹ Pope Alexander III (1159 - 81) pronounced on the matter of nuptial blessing in two decretals eventually incorporated in the *Liber Extra* (1234). In the decretal *Vir Autem*, Alexander ruled that the nuptial blessing must not be repeated; if one party had received the blessing in a previous marriage, then his or her second marriage could not be blessed and in the decretal *Capellandum* he ruled that any priest who bestowed the blessing on a second marriage committed a canonical offence and was to be suspended from all ecclesiastical offices and benefices until he had made reparation.⁸⁰ Alexander offered no explanation for these two decisions.

Thinking concerning remarriage became even murkier when theologians attempted to fit second marriages and their blessing into a theory of the sacrament

of marriage. We must return to Aquinas for a pronouncement; a second marriage is sacramentally complete in itself but is less complete than a first marriage because it is not a singular relationship between one man and one woman [one or both having had a relationship before], signified by the relationship of Christ with the Church.⁸¹ For this reason, the nuptial blessing is forbidden when both parties are marrying for a second time or if a woman marries for a second time. The blessing may be given, however, if a man is entering a second marriage with a previously unmarried woman because, although Christ had only one spouse, the Church, he was betrothed to many persons within the Church. Similarly, a man who contracted a second marriage with a virgin was entering a singular relationship with her and so could receive the nuptial blessing a second time.⁸² Women marrying for a second time could not receive the nuptial blessing because they were not contracting a singular relationship.⁸³ When priests were faced with couples who were marrying for a second time and who wanted a nuptial blessing, the priests either ignored the papal ban or concocted different blessings to replace the forbidden one and recited a new benediction at different points in the ritual.⁸⁴

To conclude, the form, practice and doctrinal theory of marriage became a focus of Western ecclesiastical interest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The development of marital theory was forced in the Middle Ages by attacks on Church control over marriage, meagre as this was, by secular feudal interests in the retention of temporal power and attacks on marriage from heresy; first by the Cathars and later the Lollards. The Church clamped down on the practice of spiritual marriage, known and tolerated since the early patristic period, as this form of marriage blurred the boundaries between chaste clergy and married laity. Up until the central Middle Ages marriage had been a private and domestic affair

between families whose prime concern was the continuation of their blood-line and more particularly the retention of family lands and the secular power which went with this. A corollary of this commitment to the preservation of the feudal family was the role of woman as *breeder*; if she failed to deliver the goods, she was repudiated. This was contrary to Church doctrine of the permanence and indissolubility of marriage and, in many cases, the choice of woman fell (for dynastic reasons) within the seven degrees of incest as outlined in Church canons from the early Church Fathers. The Church attempted to wrest the form and celebration of marriage from secular control. It developed liturgies and a public ceremony for the celebration of marriage which gave the Church an official and integral role in the creation of marital unions and their policing to ensure that canon law was not broken. The ideal marital union was one created between two adults who were free to wed (that is, not already married or related within four degrees of consanguinity or affinity) and whose consent was freely given. The consent should be given publicly before a Church official in words in the present tense. In an ideal world, people would enter into a marriage once only in their lives. By the thirteenth century, participation in marriage conferred grace on the couple, as marriage was recognised as one of the Seven Sacraments.

Medieval marital discourse was developed and manipulated by scholiasts and canon lawyers who presented their theories in Latin textbooks. But these celibate men were not men who married. Some schema had to be devised to disseminate the theory and translate it into practice for the laity for whom it was intended.

Section II

Channels through which medieval marital theory reached the laity

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries produced a large corpus of canon law

concerning the form and nature of marriage, along with guidelines for its preferred form of celebration. The theorising of this intellectual elite had to be transformed and disseminated to the laity for whom it was intended, largely as a form of spiritual and hence social control. Its dissemination was achieved in a number of ways; by using parish clergy as mediators, through the use of the pulpit, the development of instruction manuals, through advice handed down within the context of the family and from the very fabric of the churches in which the faithful worshipped. Once again, a wealth of material has survived and the analysis of all is beyond the scope of this thesis. The following section focuses on popular (in both senses of for the people and often reproduced) marital instruction and the means by which it reached the laity in England between 1200 and 1540.

Lateran IV and manuals for the instruction of priests

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council declared that, " [...] not only virgins and the celibate but also married persons find favour with God by right faith and good actions and deserve to attain eternal blessedness [...]"⁸⁵ The problem lay in how to instruct the married laity in how to attain 'eternal blessedness'. For the greater part the burden of pastoral instruction fell at local level, upon the parish priest. In 1281 Archbishop John Pecham of Canterbury issued his *Lambeth Constitutions*.⁸⁶ Pantin states that the section of the *Constitutions* called *De Informatione Simplicium* includes details of the seven sacraments of which marriage was one and which are to be expounded to the people in the vernacular four times every year.⁸⁷

Some forty years later, in the 1320s, William of Pagula (d. c. 1332, Vicar of Winkfield near Windsor in 1314) compiled a Latin prose manual for parish priests which he called *Oculus Sacerdotis* of which Parts II and III are of interest here as

they deal with marriage.⁸⁸ Part II is a programme of instruction, laying down what the parish priest should tell his parishioners concerning the Christian way of living. This instruction includes the problems of marriage and sexual morality and a discussion of the sacrament of marriage *in so far as it affects the laity*.⁸⁹ Part III deals with each of the seven sacraments for the guidance of the priest, partly from a theological, partly from a canonical and practical point of view.⁹⁰

De Pagula's *Oculis Sacerdotis* was partially anglicised in around 1400 by John Mirk, an Augustinian canon of Lilleshall in Shropshire. Mirk called his version *The Instructions for Parish Priests*.⁹¹ Mirk's work consists of 1934 lines of verse, suitable for learning by heart. He states the following about what a priest should teach about marriage :

Yet teche hen a-nother thyng,
That ys a poynt of weddyng;
He that wole chese hym a fere,
And seth to hyre on þis manere,
'Here I take the to my wedded wyf,
And there-to I plyghte þe my trowþe
With-uten cowpulle or fleschly dede.' (ll. 188 - 94)

Here Mirk provides priests and parishioners with the actual words of present consent as used in the marriage liturgy and which make a full and licit marriage without requiring coitus to make it indissoluble. He identifies specifically those who should not be married (those related by consanguinity and spiritual affinity, either through being god-parents or through being confirmation sponsors). Mirk includes the celebration of a marriage that the canonists had been at great pains to encourage amongst the faithful,

But do ryzt as seyn the lawes,
aske the banns thre halydawes.
Then lete hem come and wytne brynge
To stonde by at here weddyng;
So openlyche at the chyrche dore

Lete hem eyther wedde othere. " (ll. 202- 207)

The banns are to be publicly announced allowing time for any impediments to be identified. The celebration is to be public and witnessed and officiated by the priest at the church door. Those who contracted irregular marriages are cursed,

Loke also þey make non odde weddyng,
Lest alle ben cursed in that doynge. (ll. 198 - 99)

By 'odde' wedding Mirk may mean a clandestine wedding which has not been publicly announced to allow opportunity for impediments to be identified. What is interesting is that should such a wedding take place, Mirk suggests that the responsibility and spiritual damnation is collective; it is not only the couple who are cursed (as would have been signalled by the use of 'both') but also priest and community (as is suggested by the use of 'alle') and that trouble follows clandestine weddings as night follows day ! The section which immediately follows Mirk's instructions about espousals relates advice about lechery.⁹²

Mirk was not the first to provide the clergy with a vernacular manual. In 1357 John Thoresby then Archbishop of York (1352 - 73) issued a Latin summary of religious instruction which was to be delivered in English by parish priests throughout the province of York.⁹³ It was based upon Pecham's *Lambeth Constitutions*. Thoresby then commissioned John Gaitrik, a Benedictine monk of St. Mary's, York, to produce an expanded vernacular version in verse, to be read to the laity every Sunday.⁹⁴ The vernacular version is known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism* and includes details of the sacrament of marriage.⁹⁵

Cleric-produced manuals for the laity

The distinction between manuals for the clergy and those for the laity is, perhaps, a false one as the material within the priests' manuals was destined ultimately for a lay audience. Swanson has made the point that the mere fact of

being written allowed priests' manuals potential consultation and possession by literate lay people.⁹⁶ Indeed, Mirk's *Instructions* ends with the plea from author to owner to read the book himself but that it was made to *show* those who have no books of their own.⁹⁷ It would seem reasonable to conclude that the potential for lay consultation and ownership of these manuals grew as they began to appear in the vernacular.

Marital instruction came from sources in addition to the pulpit. The laity were served by manuals written directly for them by so-motivated clerics. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries vernacular prose and verse works appeared providing instruction for the faithful. Marriage and marital coitus were discussed in these works in a number of loci; as an aspect of the sixth commandment 'thou shalt not commit adultery', as one of the seven sacraments, as a feature of one of the seven deadly sins (lechery) and as an aspect of one of the cardinal virtues (chastity).

An early vernacular manual written for the laity is Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a verse production written in 1303.⁹⁸ Mannyng tells us that he translated the *Manuel* for 'lewed men' who knew neither French nor Latin but who enjoyed tales and rhymes. Mannyng hoped that his English translation would prevent their falling into villainy, deadly sin or other folly (ll. 40 - 50).

In *Handlyng Synne* an expansive discussion of marriage appears as a commentary on the sixth commandment, "þat we shul noun hordam do." (l. 1602) The instruction in *Handlyng Synne* is detailed and orthodox. Having given a definition of whoredom, 'to bygyle a woman to lygge here by / þoȝh no wedlok were yn þy þoȝht ' (ll. 1626 - 7), Mannyng defines marriage and its celebration after the ecclesiastical ideal; consent makes a marriage permanent and

indissoluble, so a first giving of consent takes precedence over a second which is 'hordam' (ll. 1647-54), marriage should be publically celebrated in Holy Church's sight (l. 1634) and folk should beware the degrees of incest through consanguinity and affinity (ll. 1683 - 1700). Mannyng warns against bigamy (l. 1705) and adultery (ll. 1716 - 1726)

Two aspects of Mannyng's teaching are particularly worthy of note. Firstly, his instruction is extremely practical and pragmatic - child marriages are to be avoided because the couple may not love each other when older and so break their vows; and marriage without parental consent should be avoided but if contracted it is still valid and cannot be undone for fear that those who interfere 'dysturble þys sacrament' (l. 1725). Secondly, his teaching demonstrates patriarchal distrust of female sexuality. The marriage wrecker is, in the majority of cases, the woman; the bigamist who marries without knowing that her first husband is dead, the witch who can 'þrugh whyccecraft wedlak to flycche' (l.1712), which sounds like a traditional 'folk-fear', the wife who leads a life of folly (l.1731) and the adulterous wife (about whom there is a complete tale telling how her skeleton splits in two because of her adultery.) Women are the problematic half of the marital union, due largely to their perceived voracious sexuality.⁹⁹

A second example of a fourteenth century manual composed for the laity is the anonymous prose translation of Lorens D' Orleans' French prose work *Somme Le Roi* (1297), called in English *The Book of the Vices and Virtues*.¹⁰⁰ Marriage is discussed in two loci; as an aspect of the sixth deadly sin (lechery) and its converse, the virtue of chastity.

Lechery is perceived of as a tree with many branches. Indeed, the *Book of V & V* lists twelve of them. They are presented in hierarchical order " as after þe staates

of persones þat doþ it , and euere it clymbep vpper and vpper and alwey wors and wors." (fol. 17a, l. 15 - 16). Marriage enters this schema at the fifth branch and so a relatively serious level, where lechery between an unbound man and a married woman is described. This is adultery and it is a serious sin because :

þer is synne of sacrilege, whan a man brekep þe sacrament of holi chirche, þat is of mariage / And þer-of comeþ ofte disheritynges and false heires and wrongful mariages. And þis synne doubleþ

operwhile, as a man married wip anoper mannes wif, and also a womman married wip anoper man y-maried þat is nouzt hire owne husbonde. (fol. 17a, ll. 29 - 36 following manuscript foliation)

Here the *Book of V & V* identifies marriage as a sacrament and warns of the dangers to the social order that adultery may bring about - pregnancy producing illegitimate heirs, diminishment of family estates and what the translator terms 'wrongful' marriages, perhaps meaning unlooked for unions or those formed against family wishes. If both partners are married, then their adultery is a double sin. The *Book of V & V* continues with the sixth branch of lechery, the more serious sexual sin of 'doing' with one's wife "azens kynde and azens þe ordre of wedloke" (fol. 17a, l. 38). In an oblique way what is being taught here is marital coitus in the missionary position with the woman below.¹⁰¹

The *Book of V & V* returns to a discussion of marriage in its exploration of one of the seven cardinal virtues, that of chastity. As with lechery, chastity is perceived as a tree with many branches. The married appear as in the third state of chastity and the instruction is simple : both men and women should be sexually chaste and faithful to their partners. St. Paul is paraphrased for the advice "þat wommen schulde loue here hosebondes and honoure, and kepe hem chaste and sobre" (fol.95 a, ll. 42-3) but then the work includes medical discourse concerning women's particular propensity for lechery and their voracious sexual appetite.¹⁰²

The work continues to identify marriage as having been established in Eden and, echoing Augustine, that it is a sacrament because " it betokenep þe mariage þat is bitwexe Ihesu Crist and holi chirch' (fol. 95b, l.7 - 12 and 21 - 22). The greater part of the discussion concerns the chaste status of marital coitus.¹⁰³ In the *Book of V & V* doctrinal theory and medical discourse are combined and distilled to provide a straightforward guide to the definition of adultery and the practice of spiritually safe marital sex.

'As Y can to teche the, my childe'¹⁰⁴
Marital Instruction from Parent to Child

Three late fifteenth century examples have survived of marital instruction as passed down from parent to child. They are written in the vernacular although are very different in form and content. Two are prose works written by fathers to children; a father to his son and a father to his daughters. The third is a verse narrative in which a mother addresses her daughter.

The earliest English example of a father's instruction to his offspring is Peter Idley's *Instructions to his Son*, composed between 1445 - 1450. His *Instructions* is a verse treatise of 2880 lines of seven line stanzas, divided into two books. Idley's material is not wholly original.¹⁰⁵ Idley's *Instructions* are couched in homely language and are in many ways practical. The father, twice married himself, assimilated the prose Latin writings of Brescia and Mannyng's vernacular prose treatise to couple their sentiments with his own experience. He does this in verse form which is entertaining, even some five hundred years after he created it. To sum up, in Book I Idley focuses on the personal relationship that is marriage (his basic tenet being anything for a quiet life) and in Book II redacts canon law concerning marital sex and ecclesiastical guidelines for the celebration of

matrimony; have a public wedding, marry only a woman who is old enough and unrelated to you through consanguinity or affinity and sexually satisfy her otherwise the call of her crooked instrument will cause her to stray. Idley teaches that married life is not without difficulty but does not condemn it.

Idley tells his eldest son, Thomas, for whom the work was compiled, that his subject matter came to him 'som by experience and som by writinge' (Book II, A. 31). Charlotte D' Evelyn has identified Peter Idley as a public servant and gentleman of Drayton St. Leonards near Dorchester in Oxfordshire, who died at some point between 12 November 1473 and the Spring of 1474.¹⁰⁶ Peter married twice; first to Elizabeth Drayton (of Drayton in Oxfordshire) in around 1447 and the mother of Thomas and then Anne Creting.¹⁰⁷

In Book I marriage appears first in a discussion of the goodness of women, particularly of women's advice. Idley cites the Old Testament examples of wives as good advisors and Eve as Adam's helpmate. Idley then gives the following description of marriage,

I reporte me to you that be married :
Wher is ther ony so glorius a lyffe !
All thyng is wele and no thyng myscaried;
No defaute is founde in the good wyffe.
Betwene wedded folk is neuer striffe,
But 'ye' and 'nay,' ther is non othir -
They lieve in rest as shippe without Rother.
(I, ll. 526 - 532)

One can hear irony here and one wonders about his relationships with Elizabeth and Anne. Whatever the downside to marriage, Idley was not averse to marrying twice. Towards the close of Book I Idley discusses marriage in a section devoted to 'De uxore diligenda' (I, ll.1226 - 1288). Although this section is drawn from Albertanus' *Liber de Amore Dei* D' Evelyn sees it as including Idley's 'homely

concreteness and the witness of experience.'¹⁰⁸ 'De uxore' opens with an exhortation that Thomas love his wife as 'hertely' (I, l. 1228) as he can. His father explains that a good wife may be constructed through her husband's language; if Thomas speaks to her gently, she will love him more than any other man, fear him and be loth to offend him and will look after his goods, neither wasting them nor spending his money (I, ll. 1229 - 32). All this will be achieved by speaking to her gently. If, however, Thomas is 'croked and crabbed of speche/ lordly of countenauns and comberous to please' (I, ll. 1233-4) he will end up with great distress, lose his wife's love and even worse. Thomas should treat her well because he and she are one flesh, so to despise her is to despise himself. His father then reiterates that the husband 'constructs' the wife, 'Euer a good man maketh a good wyffe' (I, l. 1245). Idley provides biblical authority concerning how men should treat their wives; God made Eve to be Adam's helper, St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians that men should love their wives as Christ did his Church (I, ll. 1247 - 57). House, land and other goods are given by parents and friends but wives are given by God and where love lasts and is constant, 'God euer sendeth prosperite and welthe and good encrease' (I, ll. 1261 - 1266) Idley presents loving one's wife as a sound business proposition. Idley advises that Thomas should 'lerne, sone, to lieue in peas' (I, l.1267) and if he should find some fault in his wife to remember that no-one, except God, is perfect (I, ll.1268 - 74). He warns against giving women the upper hand because if he does, Thomas will find his wife 'contrarie' (I, l. 1281). Seemingly from his own personal experience father tells son,

I wold in no wyse women displeas;
 ffor I am bounde and may not flee.
 Women beith goode, whoso can hem please
 Well y woote sufferance doth ease.
 (I, ll. 1283 - 86)

Having devoted some time to the personal relationship that is marriage, in Book II Peter discusses aspects of canon law relating to marriage as it might affect Thomas. In a consideration of the sixth commandment 'Thou shalt by no meane ony lecherie doo' and drawing on *Handlying Synne*, Peter informs Thomas that God instituted marriage in paradise and that it was a union in which the woman is the man's helper with a status 'not to be to lowe ne to ouer hye' (II, l. 1629). Marriage should be honoured and kept well (both parties remaining sexually continent to each other) and once a man has given his word or 'trouthe' to a woman the wedding should follow. Idley then speaks generally to all women, appearing to forget his son is the addressee and warns against secret promises of marriage and clandestine weddings, favouring plighting of the troth 'openly in holy churches sight' (II, l. 1671) and is quite explicit about why :

I sey oonlye for spousaille and wedloke,
In the face of the churche it oweth to be hadde,
and not in derke corners behynde thy bakke.
Suche blynde bargens beith oft fulle badde
And causeth hem to consistorie after to be ladde;
And som men yeve her trouthe to vi or vii,
And women in like wyse to x to xi !
(II, ll. 1672 - 78)

The apparently misogynist comparison between men and women's faithless troth-plighting and inconstancy may be largely for the sake of the end-rhyme of the stanza. Idley is concerned to avoid the cost (in terms of time, money and reputation one might well infer) of bringing any case of proving a marriage valid before the Bishop's Consistory Court which may arise out of marriages contracted clandestinely. Marriages declared and celebrated publicly in church are by far the better route.

Unashbashedly, Peter moves on to discuss the place of coitus within marriage.

Without citing the names of any canon lawyers, Idley presents and dismisses the coitalists' position that intercourse creates a marriage, '[...] fleisshely knowleche causeth not spousaille ' (II, l.1722).

Idley warns briefly against child marriages because the children lack reason (II, l. 1730), against Nicolaitism (although he does not use this term) (II, l. 1742 - 48), against marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity (II, ll. 1752 - 58), bigamy (II, l.1761) and adultery which 'distroyllest the sacrament of weddyng/ of hem that lawfully despoused are' (II, l. 1772 - 3). In his discussion of adultery Idley, following the misogynist vein of many works of this period (maybe possibly because he considered his son incapable of a such a sin), cites the woman as the adulterer but then explains female adultery, wittingly or otherwise, by drawing on medical discourse. Women commit adultery because they are sexually voracious and desire to produce children 'with hir croked instrument to encrees and multiplie' (II, l.1790), a sentiment which Idley repeats six times, concluding six successive stanzas with this dictum. The message to his son must surely be to pay the marital debt. He continues with two tales for women's edification in avoiding adultery.¹⁰⁹ As both of these tales are set overseas in some bygone age, Idley brings his son back to the fifteenth century and closer to home (the county of Essex) with reference to the competition for the Dunmow Flitch or side of bacon.¹¹⁰ If a married couple could live a year and a day without repenting of their marriage they could win a side of bacon.¹¹¹ Although Idley can find no such couple and advises his son 'Beif and moton woll serue well ynowe' (II, l. 2204), in 1445, the year in which Idley may have begun his *Instructions*, the Priory records record that the flitch was awarded to Richard Wright of Badelsborough (Essex).¹¹² In Idley's opinion, there was no point in going so far

from Oxfordshire for a ham that was overhung and tough, that is, married life is simply not like that!¹¹³

Did Thomas follow his father's advice ? We cannot tell, but we do know that he married a girl called Alice and that they produced a son called Richard. Alice's experience of married life with Thomas cannot have been so terrible as she married for a second time after Thomas' death (before 1481) to one William Poche.¹¹⁴

It is fortuitous that the second fifteenth century book of instructions from a father to his child is a text written by a father for his daughters who are of marriageable age. It serves well as a contrast to Peter Idley's work. The *Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* is a lengthy prose work of 144 chapters, composed originally in French by Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry between 1371 and 1372.¹¹⁵ Unlike Idley, La Tour-Landry was of the landed aristocracy but they shared a similar marital history in that La Tour-Landry married twice; his first wife was Jeanne de Rouge (the date of their marriage is unknown) and in 1389 when a widower, he married Marguerite des Roches, Lady of La Mothe de Pendu, widow of Jean de Clerembault, knight.

The *Book of the Knight* was written specifically for his three daughters who had been left motherless. The work's purpose was to instruct the young women in those qualities required of a lady who would become someone's wife and mother. The work was popular.¹¹⁶ It is the anonymous English translation, made in the reign of Henry VI and available in print, which will be discussed below.

Geoffrey begins by praising his wife, who could not have been Marguerite but may have been Jeanne, unless his description of the ideal wife is a literary creation. He recollects how he had composed songs and ballads for her because 'Y

delited me so moche in her ' (Prologue, l. 15). Recollecting what he describes as the evil behaviour of some of his male colleagues towards women in his youth, Geoffrey proposes to make a little book about good and evil women for his daughters' instruction (Prologue, fol. 1b, l.25) so that his daughters might differentiate between good and evil.

Chapter VI introduces the topic of marriage through the tale of two sisters. The one sister married, refused correction, deceived her husband and was severely punished. The second married and her behaviour merited riches and joy. Chapter XII tells the tale of how the King of England chose for his wife the humblest and quietest woman, chapter XVII tells of a how a wife may lose her husband's love if she loses her beauty and chapters XVIII and XIX give examples of wifely obedience. The *Book of the Knight* emphasises the wifely duties of obedience, of chaste prudent behaviour, the punishments for adultery, the dangers of bigamy, the dangers of intercourse within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity /affinity and how a wife should behave once she has become a mother.

All of Geoffrey's instruction is conveyed via relatively short moral tales in which women are the chief protagonists; bad women (who are deceitful and sexually profligate) are punished and good women (who are sexually chaste) are rewarded with their husband's trust and love. Unlike Idley in his *Instructions*, Geoffrey makes no mention of the canon law theory behind the degrees of incest or bigamy. The girls are untutored in the regulation of the when, where and how of marital coitus, nor are they told that they may legitimately demand the marital debt. Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry emphasises wifely obedience, sexual chastity and prudent behaviour.

As with Idley's advice, we do not know if La Tour-Landry's daughters

followed their father's teaching. His one daughter, Marie de La Tour-Landry married the son of her father's second wife by her former husband.¹¹⁷ As he was her step-brother, the union fell within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity and so was incestuous. The union was short lived as Marie died before 1400 leaving no children.¹¹⁸ It would appear that dynastic and land concerns based upon the intermarriage of aristocratic families were more important than the teaching of canon law, even as late as the fourteenth century. As we shall see the De La Tour-Landry and Clerembault families were not unique in this respect.

A Middle English, verse narrative of marital instruction called *What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter*¹¹⁹ suggests women from other classes received instruction also. The work may have originally have been written in the early fourteenth century but remained in circulation until the close of the fifteenth.¹²⁰ Goldberg has suggested by and for whom it was written,

This text was evidently designed primarily for an urban audience. Adolescent girls living at home with their mothers would have little need of such a text. Since, however, many teenage girls, particularly after the Black Death and particularly within town society, would leave their natal homes to go into service, it is likely that one use of this text would have been to instruct female servants, possibly by way of reading practice. It consciously draws upon a cosy and perhaps nostalgic image of a mother teaching her daughter, but behind the 'Goodwife' is no doubt a male, and perhaps clerical author.¹²¹

Riddy argues that the work is a product of the urban environment into which these teenage girls have moved.¹²² This text appears to exemplify instructive reading material for non-aristocratic women, similar in vein to the male-authored conduct books for women described above. The term 'Goodwife' means both a virtuous woman and a citizen's wife;¹²³ it is a text designed for the urban bourgeoisie. It contains the patriarchal construction of womanhood/wifedom, which were, in this period for the majority of women, synonymous with each other; she should be chaste, silent and obedient, as well as frugal, modest and industrious. That fact that

the narrative voice is that of the 'goodwife' does suggest that patriarchy felt that such instruction should come from the mother, even if this could not always be the case (as with the Knight of La Tour Landry or indeed with the anticipated audience for this work; girls who have been separated from their mothers by going into service). What having a female narrator achieves, is that the patriarchal construction of womanhood is construed as 'normal', for is not the narrative voice advocating it ? and is internalised and replicated by the female audience. 'Her' instruction to her daughter concerning marriage formation is as follows;

If ony man biddip þe worschip, and wolde
wedde þee,
Loke þat þou scorne him not, what-so-euer he
be,
But schewe it to þi freendis, & for-hile [conceal] þou it
nouȝt :
Sitte not bi him, neiþer stoonde, þere synne
myȝte be wrouȝt,
For a sclaundre reisid ille
Is yuel for to stille,
Mi leue childe.
That man þat schal þe wedde bifor god wiþ a
rynge,
Loue þou him & honoure moost of erþeli þing;
Meekely þou him answer, And not as an attirling [...] (*Goodwife*, Furnivall, ed., ll. 32 - 41)

Any offer of marriage should be made known to 'freendis' (friends and/or relatives). Although Riddy does not see the poem as concerned with marriage choice and argues that it has little to say about the control of marriage apart from this piece of advice,¹²⁴ I believe that quite specific and detailed marital instruction is being given; the Goodwife is clearly instructing that parents/relatives be involved in giving their consent to any union and is advocating a public marriage before witnesses, *in facie ecclesiae* and that a ring should be given to mark the new wife's *taken* status. 'Her' instruction concerning wifely behaviour is that the girl should be obedient and quiet, not a garrulous shrew.

Sermons about Marriage

The pulpit was an effective means of disseminating marital instruction because it could reach a wide audience. Far too many sermons which mention marriage have survived for all of them to be discussed here and so a selection of those known in England will serve as examples.¹²⁵ What strikes one is the contrast in attitude towards marriage which can be found in medieval sermons. These responses vary from the criticism of marriage coupled with the promotion of chastity as the higher and more meritorious way of life (even if the audience is a lay one) to the instruction concerning the proper form and celebration of marriage.

The *ad status* collections generally take a positive view of marriage because their recipients were the married laity. The *ad status* collection of Jacobus de Vitriaco (Jacques de Vitry : d. c. 1240), called the *Sermones Vulgares*, contains three marriage sermons which are positive in their sentiments concerning marriage and are worthy of note, as de Vitry was known in England. De Vitriaco's *ad coniugatos* sermons remain unedited but have been discussed in detail by D. D'Avray and M. Tausch who observe,

[...] the first *ad coniugatos* sermon [...] begins with the duties of husband to wife and wife to husband, and goes on to analyse the code of morals which should govern their sexual lives. The sermon also includes a section of a canonical character, in which Jacobus explains what constitutes a marriage, and the nature of the Pauline Privilege. The sermon closes with a long and rather anti-feminist passage and, at the end, a few remarks about the honour due to the good wife. [...] The second sermon starts with the nobility of marriage and the evils of adultery. [...] The third value of marriage: an ornament of the Church and a safeguard against the adulterer.¹²⁶

Whether one heard one, two or all three sermons, the listener would hear the essential goodness of marriage extolled. De Vitry's marital teaching is orthodox and detailed.

In his first sermon, Jacobus tells his audience of the history of marriage; that God instituted the married state in paradise and explains that the married state was

honoured by Christ's presence at the marriage feast at Cana.¹²⁷ As a corollary to this, much of Jacobus' second sermon is devoted to the sin of adultery and his teaching is made vivid through the use of exempla. As with other writers, such as Idley, the adulterer is usually the woman.¹²⁸ Jacobus explains the three goods of marriage; *fides*, *proles* and *sacramentum*. For him *fides* means the duty of either party to have intercourse when the other demands it, *proles* is intercourse to beget children for the service of God and *sacramentum* as marriage as a symbol of the union of Christ and the Church or Christ and any Christian soul.¹²⁹ Jacobus devotes much time to instruction concerning the legitimate motives for coitus, citing three legitimate motives.¹³⁰ Having discussed the 'why' of intercourse, Jacobus moves on to discuss its 'when, where and how', going into great detail concerning the practice of spiritually safe sex.¹³¹ Jacobus includes the following passage in which he explains that what he has just written should not be reproduced in full when made into living speech:

Nor indeed are these things to be said expressly in preaching, but one should say *in a general way to them* that they ought to keep to the right place, time, and manner, and not use their wives without restraint and against the law of matrimony, for as the angel says in Thobias ch. v: 'I will show you what things enable the demon to get the upper hand over those who enter into marriages in such a way that they exclude God from themselves and their mind, and give themselves over to their lust, like the horse and mule, who lack the faculty of reason.'¹³² [emphasis my own]

Although Jacobus anticipates that his listeners will find his teaching spiritually efficacious, this should not be at the expense of putting unthought-of sexual experimentation into their minds.

In terms of the husband and wife's relationship outside of the sexual sphere, Jacobus is the product of his patriarchal society; husband and wife are equally only so far as the marital debt is concerned. In all other things, the husband is the 'woman's head' and she subject to his authority and correction, although she is to

be seen as his partner, not his servant.¹³³

In his third sermon, Jacobus details the canon law governing how a marriage might be contracted legitimately. People should be married in Church and not clandestinely, and at the right time of the year (not between Advent and Epiphany, Septuagesima or Quadragesima up until Easter, and three days before Ascension until Pentecost).¹³⁴ They should not marry once the Church has forbidden it or marry under age (he states the minimum age at which a woman can contract a marriage with *verba de presenti* is twelve and for a man, fourteen).¹³⁵ Jacobus then explains who one may not marry by detailing the impediments of consanguinity, affinity and spiritual relationship.¹³⁶ He concludes with the prohibition against marriage with a woman who has made a vow of continence (unfortunately D'Avray and Tausch's analysis does not make it clear whether the vow is a simple or a solemn vow).¹³⁷

A century later, William of Shoreham, Vicar of Chart-Sutton in Kent (1320), wrote a series of poems, one of which is called *De Septem Sacramentis*. Section seven discusses *De Matrimonio*.¹³⁸ The poem deserves inclusion in a discussion of sermons as this is how Shoreham perceived his work, 'Her longeþ nou to þys sarmon of spousyng for to werche.' (stanza 224, ll. 1562 - 3).

What Shoreham has left us is a long poem, with one section devoted to an explanation of each of the seven sacraments, written in order to teach the Christian what means of grace to use for salvation. It is written in seven line stanzas of bob and tail verses.¹³⁹ The first four lines detail often an aspect of canon law and the final three (a short line followed by a couplet) offer Shoreham's comment and/or explanation of what has gone before. The listener's attention is attracted by the short line which introduces the final couplet:

In spoushod beþ godnesse þre,
 Treuþe, streny[n]g, and signe.
 Treuþe hys, þat þer no gile be
 þourwe spousebreche maligne;
 Ac, broþer,
 þat on may spousesbreche [sic] by-come
 For de-faute of þet oþer.
 (stanza 286, ll. 1996 - 2002)

Shoreham is quite clear about why he writes about marriage *laws*:

I-lome
 zhet some wenep ligge in spoushod,
 And liþe ine hordome.
 þer-fore ich wylle telle zou
 þe lore of ryzt spousesynge,
 þat ze ne take horedom,
 Wanne takeþ weddyng.
 Nou lestneþ
 þe lore al of þe lage y-wryte
 þat holy cherche festneþ. (stanza 232, ll., 1622 - 4, stanza 233, ll. 1625 - 31)

Shoreham's advice is detailed and practical. A marriage has to be declared in words (the deaf and dumb may use signs, stanza 235) of which there are two forms; words of present time, ' Her ich þe take' (stanza 236) and words of future marriage, 'Ich wille þe haue, and þer-to treuþe plygte' (stanza 237). Shoreham instructs that the first never fails but the other may (stanza 237) which appears to imply the consensualist doctrine that present consent alone makes a marriage full and indissoluble. Shoreham continues, however, to promote the coitalists' view when he states that,

For þet [flesh ymone] compleþ þet spoushod
 After þe by-treupþyng,
 þat hyt ne may [naugt] be ondon
 Wyþ none wyþ-seggyng,/ By rygte; (stanza 239, ll. 1667 - 1671)

What is clear, is that even by the fourteenth century, the status of coitus in marriage formulation was still a matter for debate.

In terms of the proper celebration of marriage, Shoreham is quite orthodox.

Banns should be published at church on three separate holy days (stanza 278). Marriages should be contracted before witnesses (two minimum, stanza 245) but a clandestine wedding becomes valid if admitted to "openlyche / By- fore men of trewyng" (stanza 245, ll. 1711 - 12) provided they were not married before entering into the secret contract. Shoreham does not mention the wedding taking place in church and being performed by a priest. Although this may have been the Church's ideal, such conditions were not technically required to form a full, licit and indissoluble union and as such, Shoreham is doctrinally correct in not insisting upon them. Shoreham gives the minimum age for marriage as twelve for females and fourteen for males, although betrothals may take place from the age of seven (stanza 247). These childhood betrothals may be dissolved unless the couple renew their vows of consent in puberty (stanza 248). He informs that if a contract is exacted by 'strenpe' [ravishment/rape], it is invalid unless consummation by consent follows (stanza 250).

Shoreham identifies who may not marry; subdeacons, monks, nuns and friars (stanza 255) and who may; adulterers may marry one another when they become single if they have not previously contracted with another or brought about the death of their partner (stanzas 258 - 9), lepers may marry those of sound body by mutual consent either by words of present consent or those of future consent followed by coitus (stanzas 260 - 1). Shoreham identifies only two reasons which invalidate marriages; if a free man marries a slave thinking she is free or if one marries in a case of mistaken identity (not so implausible in the case of marriages arranged through childhood betrothals, stanza 264). Shoreham details the bar to marriage set up by spiritual affinity (stanzas 266 - 271), consanguinity (272 - 274) and that created by coitus (stanzas 275 - 6).

Shoreham prefaces his discussion of marital coitus with the warning, 'No stren may non encressy / Wyp-oute flesches loste.' (stanza 283, ll. 1980 - 1). He describes the conjugal debt and then identifies three Augustinian 'goods' in matrimony, 'Treupe, streny[n]g, and signe.' (stanza 286, ll. 1996 - 7), that is fidelity, procreation and sacrament which is a sign of the union of Christ and the Church (stanza 287 - 88), that is *fides*, *proles* and *sacramentum*. Shoreham is not as nuanced as Raymond de Penyafort in his gradation of the sinfulness or otherwise of the motivations for intercourse.¹⁴⁰ The Vicar of Shoreham teaches the 'when and where' of marital intercourse obliquely, through reference to those who have sex, minding neither holy time nor holy place and who delight in '[...] hyt do kendelyche' [unnaturally] meaning, anything other than heterosexual intercourse in the missionary position with the woman on the bottom (stanza 291). It seems probable that his reason for this reticence is similar to that of De Vitry - do not encourage experimentation.

Shoreham concludes with an advocacy of chaste marriage (stanzas 292 - 4) and promotes couples so inclined to enter religion take a solemn vow of chastity - not for him is the grey area of spiritual marriage lived in the world outside of the cloister, perhaps because these unions were too difficult to police and because of the temptation to adultery which they might present to the partner who did not vow. It is perhaps not surprising that he follows this section with a warning against adultery (stanzas 296 - 303). He concludes *De Matrimonio* with the explanation that the sign of the sacrament of marriage is in the couples' consent to marriage stated in words of present consent and that this sign represents two things; (i) the couples' intention to bind themselves together for life and (ii) a representation of the union between Christ and Holy Church (stanzas 304 - 6).

In his parish of Chart-Sutton, William Shoreham was ready to cope with the spiritual (and earthly) consequences of marriages contracted under a variety of circumstances; clandestinely, by the deaf and dumb, by lepers, by women contracted after ravishment and those under more ordinary circumstances. He was able to advise on the when, where, how and why of spiritually safe sex. The *De Matrimonio* attempts to steer his flock through the spiritual pitfalls of marriage but never at the expense of the marital union itself which is held in esteem.

In distinct contrast, is the sermon collection which has survived from the late fourteenth century, the *Summa Praedicatorum* of the English Dominican, John of Bromyard (d. c. 1390). Owst has calculated that in Bromyard's chapter on marriage, the dignity and worth of marriage occupy no more than one seventh of the total discourse.¹⁴¹ Bromyard's attitude to marriage was of a 'life-long curbing of desire' punctuated occasionally by serious and solemn attempts to conceive a child.¹⁴²

Marriage sermons reiterated the relative spiritual value of virginity, widowhood and marriage which, as we have seen, first appeared in the time of Jerome. The English, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* (1340) drawing on the earlier *Book of V & V* explores the way in which the thirtyfold merits of marriage can be observed by the married and is quite laudatory :

Thretty comyth of thre and ten : therfore gif thou kepe in thi wedlok thre and ten, thou schalt have thryes ten medys - gif thou kepe thre in thi wedlok, that is ffidem, prolem et sacramentum [...] Thanne, for these iii that thou kepest in thi wedlok and for thise ten commandmentys that thou kepyst in thi have in heven iii and x medys, that is, thryes ten corouns, that is xxx specyall ioes [...]¹⁴³

Dan Michel identifies marriage as a spritually rewarding state as long as all three goods of marriage (*fides*, *proles* and *sacramentum* as identified by St. Augustine) are present and kept as well as living by the ten commandments. But the very fact

of identifying marriage as providing *thirty* 'specyall ioes' keeps marriage in third place after virginity and widowhood which receive a hundred and sixty joys, respectively.

The fifteenth century *Jacob's Well. An Englisht Treatise on the Cleaning on Man's Conscience* is a long, vernacular prose sermon collection of ninety-five addresses which purports to have been delivered day by day.¹⁴⁴ It survives in a Salisbury Cathedral manuscript from around 1440. It is aimed at an audience of 'friends & sires' who would have attended the equivalent of a preachathon had one sermon been delivered each day, for the text contains enough sermons to last for nearly four months.

Marriage appears in two loci; within the section in chapter VIII based on articles of excommunication and again in chapter XXIV where the sin of lechery is discussed (as one of the Seven Deadlies). Chapter VIII prohibits marriage between relatives and discusses consanguinity and affinity, even detailing the method of calculating the degree of relationship. The chapter relates tales of the torments of an adulterous couple and, in contrast, of the rescue of a faithful wife. Chapter XXIV identifies the different ways in which lechery may be committed, each way more serious than the last and sinking its perpetrator's soul further into the 'wose'[slime] of lechery at the bottom of Jacob's well.¹⁴⁵ The results of adultery are many, visible and destructive; 'false eyrys, false maryagys, manslaughter and many opere' (chapter XXIV) and, according to Pope Boniface,

gif englyschmen brekyn þe knott of matrimonye, & folowyn avowtrye & spousebreche, of hom schal springe in tyme comynge a wycked seed þat seed schal ben here chylderyn, falsely begetyn in avowtrye as bastardes & false eyres : þe which schul multiplye so fer forth in Ingland, þat þe peple schal be graceles, unmygty in batayle & vnstedfast in feyth of holy chersch. and so þei schul haue no worschip of opere landys, as to þe word : god schal hatyn hem [...]

(chapter XXIV, fol. 52b)

The teaching in *Jacob's Well* warns that adultery held dire consequences not only for the individuals concerned but also for the state and nation, as the bastards sired would be so great in number as to make the nation weak in battle and wavering in their faith. The worst consequence predicted is that England will not be respected by other countries and will be hated by God. After this dire warning, we move from the public and political back to the personal and private, when *Jacob's Well* discusses lechery within marriage, which it defines as inordinate marital coitus. Sex within marriage should be governed by reason (unlike the mating of the beasts of the field), sentiments similar to those expressed by De Vitry. At this juncture, the work leaves its discussion of marriage.

A Picture serves as reading for the People : Church Art and Marital Instruction

The laity received instruction in marriage as a sacrament through the very fabric of the churches in which they worshipped. Before the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, marriage appeared as one of the seven sacraments, "in window and in wall, where the designs could be perceived with the naked eye, in wood and stone where they could be touched."¹⁴⁶ These representations had their genesis in the early fifteenth century Lollard attacks on the validity of sacred signs (of which the sacraments were the most important).

Depictions of the sacrament of marriage appeared in stained glass windows, such as at St. Mary's Parish Church, Frampton-on-Severn, Gloucestershire and Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire.¹⁴⁷ Nine matrimony windows have survived in whole or part and all have handfasting as the central action in the scene.¹⁴⁸ The celebrant may join the couples' hands, rest one hand over the couples' hands or under their hands. In all cases lay witnesses are in the scenes.¹⁴⁹ By including

handfasting and witnesses, the stained glass depicts and promotes the ecclesiastical ideal of a public ceremony performed by a priest and demonstrates the moment of the sacrament of marriage becoming real.

Depictions of the sacrament of marriage can be found also in the reliefs on fonts, as one of seven illustrations in serial, seven sacramental art which flourished between 1350 - 1544, particularly in East Anglia where and when Lollardy was at its most active.¹⁵⁰ A number of fonts which depict the sacrament of marriage; they feature generally bride and groom, priest, a number of lay witnesses, and an attendant cleric.¹⁵¹ The placing of figures divides into two possible formations; type A where the bride is to the celebrant's right and the groom to the left and type B where the priest stands to the left of the couple.¹⁵² As with the stained glass, the font illustrations emphasise the Church's teaching on the importance of a public ceremony performed by a priest.

To conclude, a number of channels existed through which medieval marital instruction might reach the laity for whom it was intended. The media included oral delivery (sermons and extracts read aloud from parish priests' manuals on appointed days), manuals intended for either cleric or lay or both, to be either read aloud to a group or silently when alone and personalised testimonies passed from father to child. For those who preferred visual media, in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century stained glass windows and font reliefs were utilised to spread the message about the desired form of marriage celebration.

One observes a number of features in the instruction given to the laity. In written works there is a move into the vernacular. Canon law is distilled and simplified - few if any sources are named and there is rarely verbatim translation of canon law. Biblical sources, however, are quoted or paraphrased, such as St.

Paul. The writers did attempt to start from where their audience 'was at'. Many of the works use verse and /or include didactic tales to help instruct. There is a focusing on certain aspects: marriage is a sacrament (usually meaning both one of the seven sacraments of the New Covenant and as a sign of the union of Christ and the Holy Church) as in *Handlyng Synne*, the *Book of V & V* and Shoreham's *De Matrimonio*, marriage should be celebrated in church by a priest (*Handlyng Synne*, Idley's *Instructions*, stained glass windows and font art); there are restrictions governing who one may or may not marry (*Handlyng Synne*, De Vitry's *Ad coniugatos*, Shoreham's *De Matrimonio* and Peter Idley); the danger of adultery (*Handlyng Synne*, the *Book of V & V*) and the control of marital sex (the why, when, where and how) as in *Handlyng Synne*, Shoreham, *Book of V & V*. Interestingly, little is said of second marriages. Remarriage is certainly not promoted as lascivious behaviour destined to send the indulger straight to Hell, neither is a widow(er) propelled into a life of chastity in instruction manuals for the laity. In fact, mention of remarriage is conspicuous by its absence. As we have seen, the Knight of La-Tour Landry and Peter Idley married twice (clearly to the detriment of neither's career). Remarriage was a grey area for canon lawyers and theologians; those who mediated between celibate thinker and laity were perfectly orthodox, discussing marriage as if it were a once in a life-time experience. If it were not, the same rules still applied except for the nuptial blessing and discussion of this academic nightmare was assiduously avoided. Indeed, as we have seen, parish priests seemed to go their own way on this point.

Although some sermons praise virginity over marriage, nonetheless the central Middle Ages produced a wealth of material lauding marriage as a worthy institution. Written for the instruction of the laity, much of this material was in

the vernacular and often in a form chosen deliberately to aid the recollection of the content. One needs ask, was this marital instruction heeded to the Church's satisfaction ?

Section III

Marital Practice in England 1200 - 1540

What of the reality of marriage in the Middle Ages ? Research into the truth about people's private lives is a nebulous practice and one that is further complicated by the private and intimate nature of the subject matter. To attempt to discover something of this, one must move away from the academic theorising of celibate intellectuals to sources which record the actual practice of married individuals.

We are fortunate that so much evidence has survived from England in the period 1200 - 1540 of marital practice amongst the aristocracy, the middle-classes and the peasantry. Private letters, manorial court rolls and records from ecclesiastical courts all provide documentary evidence of who married whom, how, and in the cases which came before the Church courts, why the marriage became litigious. As we shall see, there was a disjunction between marital canon law which framed the Church's ideal for the celebration of marriage, and actual social practice.

The practice of medieval marriage : Evidence from Court Rolls

In his study of the court rolls of the parish of Halesowen, 1270 - 1440, Zvi Razi reconstructed the lives of the tenants of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Halesowen, who were summonsed or brought cases before the manorial court.¹⁵³ Razi's work can be used to shed light on the practice of medieval marriage and the gap between this practice and the academic theorising concerning marriage and its

proper practice, as outlined above.

Razi's research demonstrates that marriage in the parish of Halesowen was inextricably linked to considerations more earthly than the state of one's soul. Marriage depended on the availability of land and people married when they had land on which to work and live. Between 1270 and 1348, many men married at the age of twenty, well above the age of fourteen, the minimum at which a man could marry according to canon law, but the legal age for holding land. Women appear to have married in Halesowen between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, again older than the minimum age of twelve at which canon law permitted them to marry. In both cases, however, the age of marriage could go up, especially for children born into middling and especially poor families, when there was land shortage and poor wages.¹⁵⁴

Another insight into marital practice that arises from Razi's work is that marriage, even if a spiritual good, could be a financial burden. Customary tenants of manors were required to pay their landlord a licence fee or *merchet*, whenever a daughter was married.¹⁵⁵ Analysis of the fines in the court rolls also suggests that the Church's teaching on the sin of sexual intercourse outside of marriage was not adhered to in practice. Razi points out that on many medieval manors, unmarried women and widows of unfree status had to pay a fine, a *lerwyte* or *leyrwyte* for fornication and on some manors, servile women who bore children out of wedlock had to pay a fine called *childwyte*. These fines, such as the 12d that the unmarried Adelina Modi was fined for her pregnancy, can be interpreted as an attempt to control the sexuality of women, possibly for their moral good, probably so that the manor's wealth was not depleted by supporting children for whom the usual means of support, the nuclear family unit, was absent. It is interesting that

Razi does not mention that the fine was levied against men.¹⁵⁶ The Church's teaching on pre- and extra-marital sex was reaffirmed by a system of fines on the individual woman, her family and community. The number of fines recorded suggests that they do not appear to have deterred, nor indeed influenced the reality of human behaviour. Razi observes that the women who fornicated tended to come from middling to poor backgrounds where their marriages may have had to have been delayed for financial reasons. It appears that it was easier to follow the Church's teaching on sexual morality if one's financial situation permitted marriage at the onset of sexual awakening.¹⁵⁷ These women do not appear to have become social pariahs. At least 26% of women who gave birth out of wedlock married subsequently.¹⁵⁸ Although it cannot be proven from Razi's research, such incidence of fornication may also provide evidence of clandestine marriages which were later ratified and sanctioned by the Church.

The Halesowen court rolls suggest also that re-marriage was common, contrary to St. Paul's and later theologians' exhortations to widows not to remarry. We have already seen that the wealthy remarried on the death of a first spouse, as for example do Peter Idley and Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry. The peasantry were no different. In pre-plague Halesowen there is evidence of the remarriage of peasant widows. Razi has calculated that at least 63 % of widows remarried within a short time of their husband's death, possibly because of the accumulated wealth which they may have brought as dowry.¹⁵⁹ Razi found that remarriage increased, perhaps not surprisingly, in the post-plague years but that it proved more difficult for widows to find second husbands than widowers to find second wives.¹⁶⁰

In her recent work on the remarriage of widows in late fourteenth and fifteenth century England, Barbara Hanawalt has focused on both rural women and urban

women in London.¹⁶¹ Her findings concerning rural widows and remarriage supports Razi's conclusions;

In the rural environment, then, the availability of land and other resources was one of the determining factors for widows remarrying. If land was readily available or the village economy provided other sources of livelihood, then widows might not find marriage partners should they want them.¹⁶²

Hanawalt draws slightly different conclusions concerning the remarriage of urban widows. Using as evidence the marital details of the women who brought dower suits (where a widow sues for disputed dower; land, rents, tenements) in the Mayor of London's Court of Common Pleas, Hanawalt concludes that,

The percentage of widows who remarried increased to 50 % following the Black Death in 1348 - 9 but then dropped again in the fifteenth century. Women appearing in the dower suits were, for the most part, wealthy women who were suing to recover real estate and rents. As such, they would be very desirable marriage partners and may have been more in demand than poorer widows.¹⁶³

Hanawalt suggests that the incidence of remarriage of urban widows with children in their legal minority was higher still (57 %) than that of widows who were contesting their dower through the law courts, possibly because for a prospective husband, there existed the added incentive of having control over the property of the minor.¹⁶⁴ Although not all widows remarried, remarriage was a common occurrence.

Evidence from Consistory Courts

For evidence of medieval belief in and practice of the indissolubility of marriage, one need look no further than the records of the consistory courts held by the bishop of every diocese. Jurisdiction over cases relating to marriage were the prerogative of the ecclesiastical courts.¹⁶⁵

In his study covering the period 1350 - 1500, R. H. Helmholz has analysed the records from the ecclesiastical courts' proceedings. He has found that the majority

of cases arose to *enforce* marriage contracts, rather than to annul them. The court's ruling was usually that the marriage was declared valid and that it should be solemnised *in facie ecclesiae* as a declaration of their validity.¹⁶⁶ As Helmholz observes, " Had the habits of the populace conformed to the strict injunctions of the canon law with regard to the publication of banns and celebration 'in facie ecclesie', few problems would have arisen." ¹⁶⁷ The same has been found to be true during Thomas Arundel's reign as Bishop of Ely, 1374 - 1382. In his analysis of Arundel's consistory court register, Michael Sheehan found that the majority of cases were brought to prove the validity and indissolubility of marriages contracted in clandestine conditions and that the court found for validity rather than for annulment.¹⁶⁸ More recently, Donahue Jnr. has provided additional evidence of most cases coming before the ecclesiastical courts to enforce a marriage, in the Archbishop's consistory Court of York, ' [...] the overwhelming majority of actions concerning marriage brought in the York court in the fourteenth century were actions to enforce a marriage (78 %) [...]'.¹⁶⁹ By the time we reach the fifteenth century, the court is busier than ever with cases to enforce marriages.¹⁷⁰ Why were the Church courts so busy ? Helmholz has uncovered marriages contracted in the most unusual of places; under an ash tree, in a garden, in a small storehouse, in a field, in a blacksmith's shop, in a kitchen, by an oak tree and most precariously, in a bed !¹⁷¹ Social practice had not fully embraced the Church's dictum of marriage by a priest in the Church in front of witnesses, not even by the close of the Middle Ages.

Helmholz', Sheehan' and Donahue Jnr.'s findings simply confirm that there was a disjunction between the canonical ideal of marriage celebration and its practice in the Middle Ages. Sheehan's and Helmholz' contentions are based on the

surviving marital litigation of the middle and upper-middle classes, as the cases involving the aristocracy were heard often directly by the bishop himself and so were not recorded by the consistory court. Donahue's findings are a record of the marriage litigation of those whom he terms,

[...] quite ordinary people, ranging from citizens of York to village tradespeople and the wealthier peasants. Such people probably make up at least two-thirds of the litigants. The remaining one-third is heavily biased in the direction of the wealthy, though normally not rising above the class of simple knights. The very poor are almost, but not entirely, absent.¹⁷²

This is not to say, however, that aristocratic marriage formation always replicated the Church's ideal. The niece of Edward I, Joan, who was known as the 'Fair Maid of Kent', made a clandestine marriage in 1340, at the age of twelve, to Sir Thomas Holland.¹⁷³ A century later, in 1466, Margaret Paston's seventeen year old daughter, Margery, clandestinely married Richard Calle. In 1469, Margery was dragged before the Bishop of Norwich who conducted an inquiry as to the validity of the marriage.¹⁷⁴ In both cases the higher echelons of the Church, in the case of Joan, the Papal Curia and in that of Margery, the Bishop of Norwich, found these clandestine marriages to be valid and indissoluble because the participants were free to marry and had expressed their consent, albeit without Church ceremony. Sheehan's and Helmholz' findings concerning the lower and upper-middle classes, the aristocratic case of Margery and the royal 'Fair Maid of Kent', all illustrate that the consensualists' teaching on the importance of consent in creating a true, valid and indissoluble marriage was being put into practice by the ecclesiastical courts. This was done even in the face of family opposition; on the grounds of political expediency in the case of Joan and sheer snobbery in the case of Margery, for whom Richard Calle, the family steward, was deemed an inappropriate match.

The readiness of people, especially, in the fourteenth century, women in

particular¹⁷⁵ to litigate on the grounds of an existing, valid marriage, may also suggest that the importance of consent in marriage had entered the public consciousness. The public celebration of marriage *in facie ecclesiae*, however, had not, as it was still not universally practised even in the later Middle Ages.

Evidence of Marital Practice from the Letter-Book of William of Hoo

Our final evidence of medieval marital practice comes from a man whose job it was to ensure that Church doctrine and canon law were upheld. The Latin *Letter-Book* of William of Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St. Edmunds, 1280 - 1294, provides evidence of marital practice and the Church's response to it in and around Bury St. Edmunds at the close of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁶ The *Letter-Book* records William's activities as sacrist and archdeacon of the Abbot.

Gransden, the *Letter-Book's* editor, has identified it as a hybrid between a formulary (a series of template letters for a number of legal circumstances) and a letter-book (or collection of bonafide correspondence).¹⁷⁷ Of interest to this study are the templates for letters which could be used in matrimonial correspondence and actual letters recording incidences relating to marital disputes and the enforcement of sexual morality in the borough.

William of Hoo was responsible for the publication of the excommunication of adulterers, such as in 1289 John of Mote, painter, and Beatrice of Ely At Lane's End, wife of Peter of Soham, who were both then hiding in Bury.¹⁷⁸ Clearly excommunication and public humiliation was the punishment for those adulterers who were discovered. Hoo was required also to inform the public when someone, had cleared him/herself of the charge of adultery by compurgation (by the oaths of witnesses).¹⁷⁹ For the innocent, there was remedy under canon law to clear their name but this still involved notoriety amongst their community.

William Hoo's *Letter-Book* demonstrates that some couples and clergy followed the Church's instructions concerning the celebration of marriage *in facie ecclesiae* and the publication of Banns, giving opportunity to investigate for impediments to the forthcoming marriage. In 1289 William wrote to Ralph, Bishop of Norwich, in answer to Ralph's request that he confirm that Geoffrey of Bumpstead (Essex) had married Alice, sister of Dom. Thomas Haliday in St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds. The issue was that Geoffrey was a cleric and hence was prohibited from marrying.¹⁸⁰ In 1280 - 94 William responded to the enquiry by the Bishop of London that he found no obstacle on the side of Beatrice of C. to her marriage to W. of M. and that the Banns had been called in Bury St. Edmunds.¹⁸¹

William could also request and was given information from other clerics concerning whether or not people were free to marry.¹⁸² As archdeacon of Bury, William's permission was sought to allow one of his parishioners to marry in another area. At some point between 1280 and 1294, the Dean of Ipswich notified William that the Banns had been called between H. Trameys of Bury St. Edmunds and Katherine, daughter of John Poperolle of Ipswich and requested that the marriage be celebrated.¹⁸³

The evidence within William of Hoo's *Letter-Book* suggests that adultery, fornication by clerics and even Nicolaitism was not unheard of in thirteenth century Bury St. Edmunds. Some couples had their marriages publicly announced and celebrated within churches but the requests to and from William for information about impediments and the notification of Banns, are far fewer in number than the cases brought before Bishop Arundel's court, to prove the validity of clandestine marriages, in fourteenth century Ely.

Evidence of Spiritual Marriage

Perhaps the most famous example of a working spiritual marriage was that achieved by Margery Kempe, John Brunham's daughter from King's Lynn, in Norfolk (c. 1373 - c. 1440). Margery has left us testimony of her marital experiences in her work, written by amanuensis, called *The Book of Margery Kempe*.¹⁸⁴ Much of the material in her work was recalled and written down long after the events described. Her relationship with her husband, John Kempe, whom she married in around 1393 and by whom she had a number of children, conveys the difficulties of a woman who wished to have an a-sexual marriage whilst her partner did not.

Margery had a number of contemporary role models in women who had achieved spiritual marriages and with whose stories Margery may have been familiar.¹⁸⁵ The problem for Margery in trying to imitate the marital experience of these women was that Margery was living in fifteenth century Lynn, was not recognised as a saint and had a husband who enjoyed sex.

Matters came to a crux one Friday, probably 23 June, 1413, as Margery and John were returning from York. They had been sexually chaste for the past eight weeks and Margery asked John to grant her wish for chastity, '[...] at whichever Bishop's hand that God wills.'¹⁸⁶ Margery clearly here envisages herself making a solemn oath, as described in this present chapter. John refused, as was within his rights as he did not want a sexually chaste relationship, 'I won't allow you to do that, because now I can make love to you without mortal sin and then I wouldn't be able to.'¹⁸⁷ Doctrinally, he is quite correct. John eventually agrees on this journey to Margery's commitment to chastity because she offers to pay his debts (and also acquits him from paying her the marital debt).

Margery was able to buy her chastity and her way out of a heterosexual marriage. One wonders how many women, with husbands like John Kempe who quite correctly knew and demanded their marital debt, or indeed men with wives like the Wife of Bath, were able to secure, financially or otherwise, their freedom from unwanted marital coitus. One wonders also, how many couples consented privately to sex-free marriages yet left no record of their decision ? We shall probably never know the full extent of the prevalence of spiritual marriage but Margery's testimony is witness to its survival and practice in fifteenth century England.

Medieval Marriage; Theory and Practice : A Summation

Our discussion of medieval marriage has been a lengthy one through necessity. Marriage in England between 1200 and 1540 was not the monolithic, static and well-regulated institution that the Church would have liked. Heterosexual marriage was not the only form of union; spiritual marriage existed alongside it, connected with and derivative of it. Try as it might, even through a programme of lay instruction post Lateran IV and the production of lay instruction manuals, the Church failed to enforce its marital canon law on the consciences and consciences of the faithful, even on pain of excommunication. Church court records furnish evidence of fornication, adultery, marriage within the forbidden degrees of incest, clerical marriage and the popularity of clandestine marriages right up to the close of the Middle Ages and beyond. The Church needed a marital exemplar *par excellence* to reinforce its teaching. As we shall see, the ever increasing cult of the Virgin Mary was able to provide a useful tool, her marriage to Joseph, in the fight for sanctified marriage and spiritually-safe sex.

Chapter Three : notes

- ¹. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality : Volume 1, An Introduction, Volume 2, The Uses of Pleasure, Volume 3, The Care of the Self*, translated by R. Hurley (Middlesex : Penguin, 1990).
- ². P. Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church. The Christianisation of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden and New York : E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 172.
- ³. It must not be forgotten that Paul was writing in the expectation of the Parousia and that this coloured his response to the early Christians who, in his view, should have been concerned with heavenly matters. Paul's epistolary responses to the Christians at Corinth defined early Christian marital discourse. This discourse has been recently summarised by Price, who sees it as manifesting four particular features which separated it from contemporary Judaic and Pagan marital discourses; (i) stress on the spiritual value of sexual abstinence, (ii) strict monogamy, (iii) the horrendousness of sexual sin and (iv) the importance of the marriage debt, R. M. Price, 'The distinctiveness of early Christian Sexual Ethics' in E. Stuart and A. Thatcher, eds., *Christian Perspectives on Sexuality and Gender* (Leominster & Michigan : Gracewing & Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 14 - 32.
- ⁴. J. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 61. Although Saint Paul strongly encouraged widows and widowers to remain single after their first spouse's death (1 Corinthians 7 : 40), he had confronted the question of remarriage and answered it directly, ' A woman is bound by the law so long as her husband lives; but if her husband dies, she is freed: let her marry whom she will in the Lord.' (1 Corinthians 7:39). In this statement Paul clearly signals that widows could remarry.
- ⁵. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, pp. 1 - 2.
- ⁶. D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 44, n. 113.
- ⁷. Jerome is critical also of Paul's advice given in 1 Corinthians 7 : 14, that the marital debt of sexual gratification may be refused only by consent for a period of time devoted to prayer. Jerome writes in *Adversus Jovinianum* :
I ask you, what kind of good thing is that which impedes prayer ? [...] If we are to pray always [what Jerome states Paul implies], it follows that we must never be in the bondage of wedlock, for as often as I render my wife her due, I cannot pray.
in Blamires, *Women Defamed*, p. 65.
- ⁸. Augustine cleaves to the patristic honouring of virginity over marriage when he states 'marriage and continence are two goods whereof the second is the better,' St. Augustine, *De Bono Conjugali : The Good of Marriage* translated by C. L. Cornish in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post -Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* edited by P. Schaff, Volume II, *St. Augustine* (Michigan : Wm. B. Eerdmans, reprint 1978), p. 401.
- ⁹. P. Lyndon Reynolds, 'Marriage, Sacramental and Indissoluble : Sources of the Catholic Doctrine,' *Downside Review*, vol. 109, (1991), 105 - 150 (p. 116).
- ¹⁰. Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church*, p. xxi.
- ¹¹. Augustine writes : 'Marriages have this good also, that carnal or youthful incontinence although it be faulty, is brought into an honest use in the begetting of children, in order out of the evil of lust the marriage union may bring to pass some good.' in Cornish, *De Bono Conjugali*, p. 400.
- ¹². J. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage : Moral Conflicts and Their Resolution in Classical Canon Law' in S. Sheridan Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, Michigan : The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 1-16 (p. 18.)
- ¹³. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 18.
- ¹⁴. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 88.
- ¹⁵. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 88.
- ¹⁶. K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing. A study of Christian Marriage Rites* (Oxford : Oxford

University Press, 1983), p. 25.

17. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, p. 31.

18. Spiritual marriage appears to have developed as a result of a fusion or compromise between two conflicting Christian doctrines. (i), virginity is superior to being heterosexually active. (ii) that marriage is an acceptable institution with which some good, other than procreation, is associated and through which Christians may function as part of society and still remain true to their faith. The existence and context of *spiritual marriage* has been recently demonstrated by Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1993).

19. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage.*, p. 3 and p. 23. The second form of spiritual marriage is that known as *syneisaktism*; when two self professed ascetics of different sexes (of which the male is usually a priest) decide upon chaste cohabitation. The term *syneisaktism* derives from the word, *syneisaktai*, used to describe the female companions for whom the Latin term was *subintroductae*. Any writings which outline and defend the theoretical support for *syneisaktism* have long since disappeared. What remains is a corpus of orthodox attacks against the cohabitation of priests with any woman. The attacks were by such writers as John Chrysostom (c. 344 - 407) and in such tracts as the Pseudo-Cyprian *On the Singleness of the Clergy*, J. Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness. Same-sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (London : HarperCollinsPublishers, 1995, reprint Fontana, 1996), p. 120 and Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 34. This prohibition was formally codified at the Council of Nicaea (325), whose third canon forbade any cleric to cohabit with any woman except a mother, sister or aunt or some such person who was above suspicion. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 35. In demonstration of spiritual marriage existing between a non-clerical couple, Elliott cites the example of Paulinus and his wife Therasia who renounced their conjugal rights over one another and in around 390, founded a chaste, lay community of like-minded heterosexual couples at Nola near Naples, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 32. Paulinus and Therasia corresponded with those who chose to live in a chaste marriage but outside of the Nolan community, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 51. Some fifty years later the Byzantine Empress Pulcheria, whose Marian devotion was described in *chapter one*, herself initiated and participated in a spiritual marriage with the General Marcian, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 51. Since this was a permanently virginal marriage between a vowed virgin and an unwowed man, this union stood somewhere between types (i) and (ii).

20. In a letter to Armentarius and Paulina, a couple about whose pledge of marital chastity he had heard, Augustine stated that he would happily spend his time praising chastity in marriage although he cautions about the difficulty in maintaining this vow, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 33.

21. Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness*, p. 113, n. 14.

22. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 90.

23. C. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action : Clerical Marriage in England 1050 - 1200' in *Medieval Church and Society. Collected Essays* (London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971), p. 69.

24. A term derived from the name of an obscure early Christian sect, the Nicolaites (erroneously identified with Nicholas of Antioch, Acts 6 : 5) who argued that Christianity implied free love and lack of sexual restraint, Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 63 and p. 216.

25. For decrees of the First and Second Lateran Councils see N. P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Volume I (Nicaei - Lateran V)* (London : Sheed & Ward, Washington : Georgetown University Press, 1990), pp. 187 - 194. The decree stated that all subdeacons, priests, deacons, bishops and above were debarred from marriage or cohabitation with a woman, except those described in the Nicaean edict. The prohibition of clerical marriage in England was confirmed on 13 December, 1138, at the Council of Westminster which forbade presbyters, deacons and subdeacons to have either wives or concubines. Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 174. The

doctrinal prop supporting this demand was a belief that those who officiated at the altar must avoid the carnal joys of sexual intercourse and the pollution which they entailed, Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 214. Brooke quotes Peter Damian (c. 1007 - 72) who wrote 'Just as Jesus was born of a chaste virgin, so his rebirth in the blessed sacrament must be solemnised by a priest sworn to chastity,' *Medieval Church and Society*, pp. 72 - 3.

26. Le Roy Ladurie's research into the Bishop of Pamiers' fourteenth-century inquisition (1318 - 1325) of the peasants of Montailhou, a small village in the Pyrenees, has revealed how Cathars lived some two centuries after the heresy first regained a hold, E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montailhou : Cathars and Catholics in a French Village*, translated by Barbara Ray (Scolar Press, 1978, reprint Harmondsworth, Middlesex : Penguin, 1980).

27. The words of Guillaume Bélibaste, the Cathar Holy man of Morella, reveal Cathar attitudes towards marriage and marital sex and are worth quoting in some length :

It amounts to the same and the sin is the same, to know one's own wife carnally or to do the same with a concubine. [...] As for incest with women of one's own blood or related through marriage that is a *shameful* act and I in no way advise believers to indulge in it [...] So you two want to get married ? If you mutually desire one another, all right. Promise you will be faithful to one another and serve one another in times of health and sickness. Embrace one another. I now declare you united in marriage ! Well, there you are ! No need to go to Church ! (italics my own)

Here Bélibaste advises, if one had to marry at all, against incest with blood relatives or those related through marriage, which, as was shall see, was recognised by the orthodox as having the impediment of consanguinity, but terms it *shame* rather than a *sin*. This belief was reiterated by Raymond de L'Aire of Tignac who stated, 'In my opinion, incest with mother, daughter, sister or first cousin is not even a sin, incest is merely a *shameful act* [turpe],' Le Roy Ladurie, *Montailhou*, p. 179 and pp. 327-8.

28. Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage. Two Models from Twelfth Century France*, translated by Elborg Foster (London : John Hopkins University Press, 1978).

29. Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 5.

30. C. Brooke, *Medieval Church and Society*, p. 125 and Duby, *Medieval Marriage* , where, in the latter, Duby cites in chapter II, 'Incest, Bigamy and Divorce among Kings and Nobles' the following cases ; case one : King Philip I of France who in 1092 dismissed his first wife, Bertha to whom he had been married since 1072 and appropriated another, Bertrade who was at the same time married to the Count of Anjou. The couple were excommunicated three times until in 1104 they were reconciled with the Church, having foresworn any conversation and companionship between them. Case two : the polygamy of Robert the Pious who in 991 - 2 repudiated his wife of three years, Rosala, to marry in 996 - 7 Bertha whom he repudiated in c. 1004 in order to marry Constance; in 1009 - 10 he considered repudiating Constance in turn and remarrying Bertha but decided against this. King Robert was never excommunicated but was vilified by the later pen of Peter Damien, the twelfth century reformer.

31. K. M. Wilson and E. Makowski, *Wykked Wyves and the Woes of Marriage. Misogamous Literature from Juvenal to Chaucer* (Albany, N. Y. : State University of N. Y., 1990), p. 73.

32. Blamires, *Women Defamed*, p. 88.

33. It is called the *Dissuasio Valerii Rufino Coniugorum* (c. 1180) and was written by Walter Map (1140 - c. 1209), a member of Henry II's court and in 1197, Archdeacon of Oxford. Map's work is satirical and full of exempla of husbands who rue their marriages, Blamires, *Women Defamed*, pp. 103 - 114.

34. Wilson and Makowski, *Wykked Wyves*, p. 109.

35. Wilson and Makowski, *Wykked Wyves*, p. 9.

36. Wilson and Makowski, *Wykked Wyves*, p. 111.

-
37. Blamires, *Women Defamed*, p. 125.
38. J. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London and New York : Longman, 1995), pp. 206 - 230.
39. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 274.
40. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 235.
41. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 235. See also Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 80 where she quotes section C. 27, question II of Gratian's *Decretum*.
42. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 236.
43. In terms of the nature of marital coitus, Brundage lists Gratian's three prescriptions, that i) marital sex ought not to take place too frequently, ii) that it not involve pleasure and iii) it should not be unnatural (meaning anal and oral sex) or symbolically inappropriate (with the woman on top or *more canino*) because 'unnatural acts are more filthy and disgraceful than fornication or adultery,' Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 82.
44. Hugh of Saint Victor talks expansively of marriage in his *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* (Part II) (PL 176, 61 : 479 - 520). *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* was probably composed during the pontificate of Innocent II (1130 - 43), at his order. *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, 9, ii. MAB -MARL (Paris, 1926), col. 2144.
45. *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, col. 2144.
46. Schine Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph,' p. 109.
47. Hugh of St. Victor writes that sex is useful, 'lest the vice of concupiscence, which took root in human flesh after sin, might pour forth disgracefully into every excess, if it could never have been received licitly.' Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph,' p. 109.
48. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 264.
49. In 1230 Raymond began a collection of extant decretals about marriage at the direction of Pope Gregory IX, Brundage, *Canon Law*, p. 222.
50. In his *Summa* 4. 2. 8 (479), Raymond refines Lawrence of Spain's (d. 1248) four sinless acts of marital coitus by synthesising them with Huguccio of Pisa's (d.1210) view of coitus as inherently sinful. Raymond concludes that 'In primo et secundo casu nullum est peccatum, in tertio veniale, in quarto mortale.' Kelly, *Love and Marriage*, p. 257, note 39.
51. Brundage, *Canon Law*, p. 222.
52. Unwed individuals who acted as godparents to a child could not then contract a marriage with each other neither could any unwed couple who had had coitus (in itself the canonical crime of fornication) contract marriage between themselves and any close relative of the other. Acting as a godparent and the act of coitus both created the impediment of affinity. Those who did marry within the seven degree limit or married someone with whom they had a bond of affinity had either to secure papal dispensation or accept the risk that their marriage might be annulled, Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 356.
53. Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 257.
54. Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 258.
55. These synods were; 1 Canterbury (1213/14), 2 Winchester (1247 ?), 3 Winchester (1262 - 65) and Coventry (1224 - 37), Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 436.
56. Esther Cohen and E. Horowitz, 'In search of the Sacred : Jews, Christians and Rituals of Marriage in the Middle Ages,' *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 225 - 249 (p. 235).
57. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 440.
58. Marital liturgies have survived in thirteen documents. The documents are :
- i) *The Pontifical of Egbert*, Archbishop of York : eighth century rite, now in Surtees Society, vol. XXVII
- ii) *The Sacramentary of Leofric* : ninth century, a copy of which exists in London, British

Museum Claudius A. III (tenth century)

iii) *The Rede Boke of Darley*, a travelling missal originating from the Benedictine Abbey of New Minster , Winchester: c. 1061, now in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library

iv) *The Magdalene Pontifical* : twelfth century, now in Oxford, Magdalene College Library

v) *The Ely Pontifical* : twelfth century, now in Cambridge University Library

vi) *Bury Saint Edmunds manuscript* : 1125 - 35

vii) *The Pontifical of Anianus*, Bishop of Bangor : 1268 - 1304

viii) *The Parish Missal of Hanley Castle*, Worcestershire : thirteenth century, now in Cambridge, University Library

ix) *The Liber Evesham* : end of thirteenth/start of fourteenth century

x) *The Pontifical of the Abbot of Westminster* : fourteenth century, now Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson 425

xi) *The York Manual* : mid-fourteenth century (many copies)

xii) *The Sarum Manual* : mid-fourteenth century (many copies)

xiii) *London, British Museum Harley 2860* : early fifteenth century

They are all dicussed in *The Publications of the Surtees Society*, Volume LXIII (1874), appendix 4. Most recently the contents of the Bury St. Edmunds liturgy has been described by J. K. Leonard, 'Rites of Marriage in the Western Middle Ages,' in Lizette Larson-Miller, ed., *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays* (New York and London : Garland Publishing Inc., 1997), 165 - 202 (pp. 188 - 191).

⁵⁹. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, p. 79. Amt, *Women's Lives*, pp. 83 - 89 gives the Sarum text.

⁶⁰. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, p. 79.

⁶¹. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, p. 69.

⁶². Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing*, p. 80.

⁶³. Indeed, Hugh of Saint Victor thought a chaste marriage to be the best sort, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 138.

⁶⁴. The German visionary Elizabeth of Schönau (d.1164) voices the problem of the similarity of form (but not intention) between Cathar chastity and spiritual marriage, whilst in discussion with her angelic guide:

Lord, as I have heard, certain ones among the [the Cathars] assert that there is no legitimate marriage except between two people who preserve their virginity for the duration of their legal union [...] And he answered : Where such a union is possible, it is pleasing to God. *But it is very rare that it happens* [...] And I said : Lord, which or what kind of faith or life do they have ? He answered : Their faith is depraved, and their works are worse. Again I said : Nevertheless *they seem just in the sight of people* [...] So it is, he said. *They give the appearance of being just and innocent life* [...] however, they are full of the worst venom. (emphasis my own)

as translated in Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 139. Elizabeth's angelic guide states that chaste marriage is acceptable to God but doubts the ability of human nature to live in this way. In 1144, Bernard of Clairvaux in a sermon against Catharism, protested against the possibility of chaste spiritual marriage and claimed that 'The Church forbids men and women who have taken a vow of chastity to live together' and also doubts the ability of human nature to live in chaste unions because 'to be always with a woman and not to know her carnally, is not this more than to raise the dead ?,' Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 140, note 26.

⁶⁵. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 159.

⁶⁶. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 159.

⁶⁷. If both spouses entered religion the husband ceased to have any authority over his former wife.

⁶⁸. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 164. A simple vow of marital chastity illustrates the gender inequality which was a feature of medieval sexual and spiritual marriage. Because the couple remained in their home, the husband, by right of patriarchy, continued to exert authority over his

wife, even in terms of her spirituality. If the woman alone stated her intention to live in a chaste marriage this could be done only with her husband's permission which once given, according to Pope Innocent IV (d. 1254), could be retracted as long as he did not vow himself. Why could he do this? Although the wife's vow of chastity demonstrated her intention of never seeking to exact the conjugal debt from her husband, the debt still existed and her husband may legitimately demand it of her unless he forgoes this, grants her permission and to all intents and purposes makes a simple vow of chastity himself. In this ruling we can see clearly two aspects of how medieval patriarchy interfered with female spiritual practice; i) a wife's spiritual desires were secondary to her sexual duties and ii) a wife's spirituality was subordinate to the will of her husband, as Margery Kempe, for example, was to find. The latter point is illustrative of a general hardening of gender relations (to the detriment of women) which took place during the Middle Ages.

⁶⁹. Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) concluded that spiritual marriage should no longer be tolerated, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, p. 168.

⁷⁰. P. Lyndon Reynolds, 'Marriage, Sacramental and Indissoluble : Sources of the Catholic Doctrine,' *Downside Review*, 109 (1991), 105 - 55.

⁷¹. Augustine's theory was developed from a gloss on Paul's statement in Ephesians 5 : 31 - 33 and is as follows :

A man shall leave his wife and mother and be joined to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh, which the Apostle says is a 'great sacrament in Christ and in the Church'. *Therefore what is great in Christ and in the Church is very small in individual husbands and wives*, but is nevertheless a sacrament of inseparable union. (emphasis my own)

Lyndon Reynolds, 'Marriage, Sacramental,' p. 122.

⁷². Lyndon Reynolds, 'Marriage, Sacramental,' p. 123.

⁷³. Aquinas explains why in his *Summa contra Gentiles* (1259 - 64):

And because the sacraments effect what they signify it must be believed that through this sacrament a grace is conferred on those who marry by means of which they may conform [pertineant] to the union between Christ and the Church. This is most necessary for them, in order that they should so attend to carnal and earthly things that they are not separated from Christ and the Church.

Lyndon Reynolds, 'Marriage, Sacramental,' p. 138. The view that marriage conferred grace and was one of the Seven Sacraments had been accepted in England at the First Council of Salisbury (1217 - 19). It was adopted as dogmatic truth by the Council of Florence (1431 - 46) and the Council of Trent (1546 - 63) ultimately condemned contrary views as heresy, Brundage, *Law, Sex*, p. 433.

⁷⁴. Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350 - 1544* (Woodbridge : Boydell Press, 1994), p. xvi.

⁷⁵. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. xvi.

⁷⁶. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. 275.

⁷⁷. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 19.

⁷⁸. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 19.

⁷⁹. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 20.

⁸⁰. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 20.

⁸¹. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p.22.

⁸². Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 22.

⁸³. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 23.

⁸⁴. Brundage, 'Widows and Remarriage,' p. 23.

⁸⁵. Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 250 - 1.

⁸⁶. They had legislative effect throughout the province of Canterbury. R. N. Swanson, *Religion*

and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 - c. 1515 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 48.

⁸⁷. W. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century : based on the Birkbeck Lecture* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 193.

⁸⁸. Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 195. The work was divided into three parts; part I or 'Pars Oculi' and written c. 1326 - 8, part II 'Dextra Pars' and part III 'Sinistra Pars' both written c. 1320 - 3, Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 197.

⁸⁹. Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 200.

⁹⁰. Pantin's description of the contents of *Oculis Sacerdotis*, Part II reads thus:

The two longer sections are those on the Eucharist and on matrimony. [...] The latter includes such matters as clandestine marriages, consanguinity, impediments, dowries. The book ends with a consideration of the pros and cons of matrimony [...] On the one hand the writer expounds eight reasons why husbands should love their wives and eight reasons why matrimony should be commended, of which the first is the authority of Him Who instituted it [...] On the other hand [...] All the drawbacks of matrimony are set out : a wife will impede the study of philosophy, and a man cannot equally serve both his books and his wife. Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 201. William of Pagula was clearly au fait with earlier and contemporary marital discourse: his advice shows influence of the misogamy of Jerome and the twelfth century philosophic misogynist tradition, as well as twelfth century canon law concerning degrees of incest and the social practice of dowry, as described in the previous section. The reference to clandestine, that is secret marriage, suggests that the ecclesiastical guidelines prescribing that weddings should be publicly celebrated at the Church door by a priest had not yet become social practice and needed reinforcing.

⁹¹. It survives in a number of manuscripts, the best identified by the poem's editor, Peacock, as; London, British Library, Cotton MS, Claudius A. ii and Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce MSS 60 and 103, Edward Peacock, ed., *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc*, EETS OS 31 (London : Trübner, 1868).

⁹². Lechery is classed as a deadly sin except in marriage for Mirk states, 'saue in here wedhode that ys feyre to-fore gode.' (ll. 212 - 3) Marriage, the subject of 'ys feyre,' renders lechery a non-mortal sin. This point is contradicted, however, in Mirk's suggestions about the examination of the seven deadly sins. Here lechery, 'wheþer hyt wer wyf or may' (l. 1351) is once more a mortal sin.

⁹³. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 61.

⁹⁴. Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 212.

⁹⁵. F. Simmons and H. Nolloth, eds., *The Lay Folks' Catechism or Archbishop Thoresby's Instructions for the People*, EETS OS 118 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901).

⁹⁶. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 59.

⁹⁷. Swanson. *Religion and Devotion*, p. 59. The choice of the verb 'show' may carry both the meaning of 'instruct' and literally to 'show to' others who, although they may not be wealthy enough to own books of their own, would not necessarily be illiterate, M. Aston, 'Devotional Literacy' in *Lollards and Reformers : Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London : Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 126.

⁹⁸. It purports to be a translation of Archbishop Grosseteste's (c. 1175 - 1253) Anglo-French poem *Manuel des Pechiez*. F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, EETS OS 119 (London, 1901). This work has been edited more recently by Idelle Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, (Binghampton, N. Y. : Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 14 , 1983). Mannyng entered the Gilbertine order as a youth and was sent to Cambridge to study, returning to Sempringham Priory (the mother house of the Gilbertines) at about the same time that he began *Handlyng Synne*, Sullens, *Handlyng Synne*, p. xiii.

⁹⁹. Mannyng addresses his lay audience and percolates the teaching of the elite in a way which

acknowledges marital social practice, including the ongoing development of misogyny in his period. Evidence of the work's popularity is suggested by the number of manuscripts which have survived and of its interest to later readers. Sullens states that the number of surviving manuscripts which contain *Handlyng Synne* is not negligible and that the work was copied between a century and a century and a half after it was written, Sullens, *Handlyng Synne*, p. xviii.

¹⁰⁰. W. N. Francis, ed., *The Book of Vices and Virtues : A Fourteenth century English Translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens d'Orleans*, EETS OS 217 (London : Oxford University Press, 1942). Lorens' work was popular enough to be translated into English on nine occasions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries including in 1340 as Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* and in William Caxton's *Royal Book* (Caxton was printing between 1477 - 91). The *Book of V&V* has been selected as it is the earliest English translation.

¹⁰¹. Retaining the theme of coitus, branches seven to nine define increasingly worse forms of lechery; incestuous lechery with one's blood relatives or close kin of your partner and reiterates the degrees of incest through consanguinity and affinity as defined by canon law (fol. 17b, ll. 1 - 14).

¹⁰². It suggests a physiological cure that women should be 'sobre in etyng & drynkyng, for of moche etyng comeþ moche quekenyng of þe fier of lecherie.' (f. 95b, l. 1-2)

¹⁰³. Replicating the canon law of Raymon de Penyafort, the *Book of V & V* identifies three lawful uses for marital coitus; in the hope of offspring, in paying the marital debt and as a preventative of adultery. Unlike Penyafort and in a telling example of how canon law was interpreted lower down the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the translator identifies each of these three uses as sinless (whereas Penyafort cites coitus as a preventative for adultery as a venial sin) and instructs that only intercourse purely for pleasure is sinful. Interestingly, in the *Book of V & V*'s schema sex for pleasure can be either a venial or a mortal sin (whereas in Penyafort it is always mortal) depending on the level of 'rigt and resoun' which each of the partners achieves when experiencing their pleasure. If the man's delight or pleasure is subject to reason and he only wishes to have intercourse with his wife, then the sin is venial. If, however, his pleasure is so great that his reason is 'blent' and that he would do as much to *any* woman, then this is lechery and a mortal sin because it outsteps the bonds of marriage. The section concludes with the Old Testament example of Tobias who loved Sara chastely, unlike her former seven husbands. The lesson is : do not enjoy intercourse too much. The *Book of V & V* teaches when intercourse should take place and when it is prohibited; a man sins if he has sex with his wife when she is sick (read during her menses) because of the threat, according to St. Jerome, of conceiving 'maimed folk, þat is þe blynde, þe halte and lame, an þe messeles [leprosy]' (fol. 96b, l. 9 and ll. 14 - 15). Couples should also avoid sex in holy times (to allow themselves more time to devote to God and prayer) times of fasting and when the woman is in childbed, that is, throughout pregnancy. The couple are also to avoid having sex in the church !

¹⁰⁴. C. D' Evelyn, ed., *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series VI (Boston : D.C. Heath and Company, [n. d.]), p. 83.

¹⁰⁵. Book I is based on two thirteenth century Latin treatises of Albertanus of Brescia; his *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* written for his son John in 1246 and the *Liber de Amore et Dilectione Dei et Proximi* written for his son Vincent in 1238. Book II is based on John Lydgate's poem *The Fall of Princes* (1438/9) and Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, still popular nearly a century and a half after Mannyng translated the work.

¹⁰⁶. D' Evelyn, *Peter Idley*, pp. 26 - 7.

¹⁰⁷. They had possibly other children but it is unclear which, if any, of Thomas' five brothers and sisters (William, John, Joan, Elizabeth and Sibille) are the result of Elizabeth and Peter's union or of his second marriage to Anne Creting (the date of this marriage remains unknown), after Elizabeth's death.

¹⁰⁸. D' Evelyn, *Peter Idley*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹. The tales are the tale of the dragon and the adulterous wife and the tale of St. Macaire and the two married women.

¹¹⁰. The competition is commemorated in the place name of Bacon's End near the two Dunmows, Little and Great between Bishop's Stortford and Braintree in Essex and was depicted in an engraving from an original painting of the two winners on 20 June, 1751 (Thomas Shakespeare, weaver and wife) by David Ogborne.

¹¹¹. The couple were required to swear their oaths on the 'Kneeling Stones' which may still be seen in Little Dunmow Priory today. It is likely that the bacon was given by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary the Virgin at Little Dunmow, as a kind of edible bonus if people took marriage vows with the Church's blessing, details from the anonymous, *Little Dunmow Priory. A Brief History and Guide to the Parish Church Today* ([n.p.], [n.d.]) no pagination.

¹¹². *Little Dunmow Priory*, n.p..

¹¹³. History has proven Idley's advice not to travel so far to be good advice but for geographical reasons. In 1467 the flitch was won by Stephen Samuel of Little Easton and in 1510 the winner was Thomas Fuller of Coggeshall, men who, like the 1445 winner Richard Wright, lived within easy travelling distance of Little Dunmow. *Little Dunmow Priory*, no pagination.

¹¹⁴. D' Evelyn, *Peter Idley*, p. 33.

¹¹⁵. T. Wright, ed., *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, EETS OS 33 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1868, revised edition, 1906).

¹¹⁶. Nearly a dozen copies of it exist and it was translated into German by Marquard vom Stein and also appeared in print in 1493. Wright, *The Book of the Knight*, p. xiv. It was translated twice into English; first anonymously in the reign of Henry VI (1422 - 1461) and then by William Caxton whose translation was complete 1 June 1483 and ready for publication 31 January 1484. Wright, *The Book of the Knight*, p. xv.

¹¹⁷. The marriage to Giles Clerembault took place on 1 November, 1391. Wright, *The Book of the Knight*, p. ix.

¹¹⁸. Wright, *The Book of the Knight*, p. ix.

¹¹⁹. The work is available in F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Babees Book*, EETS OS 32 (London : Trübner, 1868), pp. 36 - 47 and is printed in P. J. Goldberg, trans. and ed., *Women in England c. 1275 - 1525. Documentary Sources* (Manchester and New York : Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 97 - 103. Felicity Riddy has located the following manuscripts containing the work : Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 106 (mid-fourteenth century, c.1350)

London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 853 (c.1400)

San Marino, California Huntington Library MS HM 128 (first quarter of fifteenth century)

Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19 (late fifteenth century)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61 (late fifteenth century - a fairly corrupt version)

in Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best : Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text,' *Speculum*, 71 (1996) 66 - 86 (p. 70, note 16).

¹²⁰. Goldberg, *Women in England*, p. 97, argues for a mid-fourteenth century date of composition whereas Riddy suggests that the poem itself pre-dates the Black Death and so can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best,' p.70.

¹²¹. Goldberg, *Women in England*, p. 97.

¹²². Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best,' p. 72.

¹²³. Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best,' p. 68.

¹²⁴. Riddy argues that, unlike apprentices' indentures, *What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter* has little to say about the control of marriage apart from this piece of advice. As evidence of the difference between the poem and an apprentice indenture, Riddy cites an indenture of 1392 that apprenticed Katherine Noughe, sister of a London haberdasher, John Noughe, to Avise Wodeford,

'silkthrowster,' which specifically states that Katherine is not to marry during her apprenticeship, 'save with the assent, will and counsel of the said John, and of Thomas Nogle, citizen and tailor of London, uncle of the said apprentice', Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best,' p. 72, note 26.

¹²⁵. Those which have survived are written documents, often in Latin, which may have been gathered into large collections called *Summa* and may never have been delivered orally. They serve rather as evidence of a corpus of material from which preachers may have drawn the subject matter for their sermons. Another genre of sermon collection is the *Ad status* collection, a group of model sermons written in Latin by a single author. The model sermon could then be turned into a living delivery by any preacher who cared to use the collection as inspiration. Each sermon was written with a specific audience in mind; *ad sacerdotes*, *ad iudices*, *ad pauperes*, *ad milites*, *ad mercatores*, *ad agricolas*. For the purpose of this study of marital instruction our examination will be confined to the category of *ad coniugatos*.

¹²⁶. D. D' Avray and M. Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons in *Ad status* collections of the Central Middle Ages', in N. Bériou and D. D' Avray, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons. Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto : Centro Italiano de Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), pp. 94 - 95.

¹²⁷. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons', p. 96.

¹²⁸. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons', p. 98.

¹²⁹. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons', p. 103.

¹³⁰. He writes :

Hiis tribus causis potest homo coire cum uxore, ut scilicet prolem generet, ut fornicationem caveat, ut uxori debitum reddat.

A man may have intercourse with his wife for these three reasons: that is, to beget offspring, to avoid fornication, and to pay the debt to his wife. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 106, note 117. Jacobus does identify a special case where the *debitum* may be refused. A woman (he says nothing about a man in this circumstance) may do so if her marriage has not been consummated and she wishes to enter a religious life. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 107.

¹³¹. He identifies the duty to abstain from sex on feasts and fasts, 'inminentibus magis solemnitatibus in quibus corpus domini recipere solent,' when the wife is menstruating or pregnant and condemns attempts to procure sterility. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 108 - 9. If, however, a partner demands sex, even at the great feasts of Easter or Pentecost, the other must pay the debt although only the one who demands will sin, not the one who gives. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 108.

¹³². D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 109, note 126.

¹³³. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 118.

¹³⁴. De Vitry writes :

Attendant preterea tempus legitimum, ut observent tempus feriatum in quo nuptiarum sollempnitas fieri prohibetur sicut est *ab adventu domini usque ad Oct.* [Octavas or Octabas] *Epyphanie, et a Septuagesima vel a Quadragesima in quibus locis usque ad Oct. Pasche, et a tribus diebus ante Ascensionem usque ad Oct. Pentecostes.* [emphasis my own]

D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons', p. 126, note 207.

¹³⁵. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 127.

¹³⁶. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 127.

¹³⁷. D' Avray and Tausch, 'Marriage Sermons,' p. 127.

¹³⁸. *De Septem Sacramentis* has survived in one manuscript, London, British Library Additional MS 17, 376 which appears to have been written at some point between 1327 - 1350/75 ? It has been edited by M. Konrath, ed., *The Poems of William of Shoreham. Part I. Preface, Introduction, Text and Notes*, EETS ES 86 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.,

1902).

139. The poem's editor, Konrath, is not flattering about Shoreham's poetic abilities but does praise :

[...] the practical Churchman, who had the cure of souls; who knew the spiritual wants as well as the capabilities of those *þat lewed beþ*; and who, as a faithful shepherd, earnestly endeavoured to minister them to the best of his ability. Konrath, *William of Shoreham*, p. xv.

140. Shoreham instructs that intercourse without 'treupe, streny[n]g and signe' is sinful,

Wanne hy [sex] wyþ-oute þyse þre

Wyþ fleschlich mone me[n]geþ:

hare oper,

þe more hy hyt doþ, þe wors hi beþ,

And god al-so þe loþer.

(stanza 289, ll. 2019 - 23)

141. G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England : a neglected chapter in the history of English Letters & the English People* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 78.

142. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 378.

143. Aston, 'Devotional Literacy,' p. 128.

144. Aston, 'Devotional Literacy,' p. 115. It survives in a Salisbury Cathedral manuscript from around 1440. It has been edited by A. Brandeis, ed., *Jacob's Well. Part I. An Englisht treatise on the cleansing on Man's Conscience*, EETS OS 115 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900).

145. At five foot depth one finds lechery between a singleman and a married woman, which involves two sins:

Oon is in brekyng fayth of mariage, þat þe ton / schulde kepe to þat oper. An-oper is sacrilege,

þat is, brekyng of þe sacrament op holy cherche. (chapter XXIV, fol. 52b)

Here marriage is described as a sacrament and later on as having been originated by God between Adam and Eve. The writer continues that adultery where both partners are married is even more sinful.

146. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. xvi.

147. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, see chapter on 'The Iconography of the Sacraments.'

148. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. 277.

149. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. 277.

150. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, figure 2.

151. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. 275.

152. Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, p. 275.

153. Zvi Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish : Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270 - 1400* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1980).

154. In the post-plague period, when more land was available due to plague mortality, Razi found that the age at which men married remained at about twenty but women were found to marry earlier, between the ages of twelve and nineteen, so an age gap between spouses was common.

Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 63.

155. This fee ranged from 12d. to 6s. 8d. but was usually 2s. in the pre-plague period. During the period 1349 - 1385, the fine rose to 6s. 8d. (to compensate for fewer marriages amongst a plague decimated population ?), resulting in a riot, so for the last fifteen years of the century the abbot stopped exacting fines. The number of fines for evasion of this fee and hence marriage without permission, recorded in the court rolls, suggests that people were often unable and/or unwilling to pay.

156. Razi discovered that the Halesowen court rolls recorded only *lerwytes* but that this term included fornication *and* conceiving and bearing children out of wedlock. The guilty woman or her family, had to pay either 12d. or 2s., so the financial penalty may have reinforced the spiritual

one. The Halesowen abbots went still further, however, by imposing financial penalties on those who did not inform on such behaviour;

At the court held in November 1294, the township of Hill was amerced 2s. for neglecting to report that Adelina the daughter of William Modi 'suscepit problem [sic] extra matrimonium' and Adelina was herself fined 12d. In November 1313 the township of Illey was amerced for failure to report that the daughter of William Tiller 'deflorata est et peperit.' Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 132.

¹⁵⁷. Razi notes the high incidence of illegitimate children in pre-plague Halesowen but that this incidence dropped in the post-plague period. He does not identify an increased adherence to Church teaching. I would suggest that the number of illegitimate children dropped because more land was available, enabling a greater number of peasants to marry at an earlier age.

¹⁵⁸. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁹. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 138.

¹⁶⁰. His research into post-plague remarriage uncovers a poignant fact. At least a quarter of the widowers of the head families in Halesowen remarried in the post-plague period but to women for whom this marriage was their first and hence, they were probably young women. The land with which a widow could endow a marriage no longer had the same attraction in post-plague Halesowen when land was more readily available, as it had in pre-plague times. Razi's findings suggest that it was the younger woman, sought possibly for her fertility rather than her dowry, who was the desired wife. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death*, p. 138.

¹⁶¹. B. A. Hanawalt, 'Remarriage as an Option for Urban and Rural Widows in Late Medieval England' in Sheridan Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow*, 141 - 164.

¹⁶². Hanawalt, 'Remarriage as an Option,' p. 149.

¹⁶³. Hanawalt, 'Remarriage as an Option,' p. 150.

¹⁶⁴. Hanawalt, 'Remarriage as an Option,' p. 150.

¹⁶⁵. Where land was the real issue (and not the proving of the validity of a marriage) the King's courts held judicial sway. For details of the types of cases held in the King's Courts see R. C. Palmer, 'Contexts of Marriage in Medieval England : Evidence from the King's Court circa 1300,' *Speculum*, vol. 59 (1984), 42 - 67.

¹⁶⁶. R. H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 27. Of course there are exceptions to the general rule : the case of violent marriage (1339-1341) between Agnes Huntington and Simon Munkton of York shows how women did sue for *divortium a vinculo* (an annulment of the marriage). The sorry tale is described in detail in F. Pedersen, '*Romeo and Juliet of Stonegate*' : a medieval marriage in crisis, Paper 87 (York : Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1995).

¹⁶⁷. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁸. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, p. 29. For Sheehan's study see M. Sheehan, 'The Formation and Stability of Marriage in fourteenth century England : Evidence from an Ely Register', *Medieval Studies*, XXXIII (1971), 228 - 263.

¹⁶⁹. C. Donahue, Jr., 'Female Plaintiffs in Marriage Cases in the Court of York in the Later Middle Ages : What Can We Learn from the Number ?' in Sheridan Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow*, 166 - 183 (p. 190).

¹⁷⁰. Of the fifteenth century figures Donahue states '[...] it is even truer of the fifteenth century than it was of the fourteenth that the overwhelming majority of actions (85 %) were actions to enforce a marriage [...]'. Donahue, 'Female Plaintiffs,' p. 198.

¹⁷¹. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, p. 29.

¹⁷². Donahue, 'Female Plaintiffs,' p. 207, note 8.

¹⁷³. J. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London : Longman, 1992), pp. 14 - 15.

-
174. Ann S. Haskell, 'The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth Century England,' *Viator*, 4 (1973), 458 - 471 (p. 468). The letter which Margery's irate mother, Margaret, wrote to Margery's father John Paston in 1469 can be found in J. Warrington, ed., *The Paston Letters* (London, Melbourne and Toronto : Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1924, reprint 1978), pp. 76 - 78.
175. Donahue, 'Female Plaintiffs,' pp. 195 and 197.
176. Antonia Gransden, ed., *The Letter-Book of William of Hoo Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds 1280 - 1294*, Suffolk Society, Vol. 5 (1963). The post of sacrist at Bury was an important one. The sacrist owned many manors, drew the rents, tolls and other profits of the borough of Bury and presided over the borough court. William Hoo was also an agent of Geoffrey of Vezzano, the papal tax collector in England from 1276 - 1299, for the collection of debts to the Holy Land from the redemption of crusading vows. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 17.
177. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 11.
178. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 52.
179. As in the case of an unnamed woman in the diocese of Norwich, Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 28.
180. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 51.
181. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 65.
182. He was informed by the parish chaplain of B. that there was no reason why A. of B. should not marry. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 90.
183. Gransden, *The Letter-Book*, p. 91.
184. B. A. Windeatt, trans., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (London : Penguin, 1985). Extracts of Margery's book were printed in around 1501 by Wynkyn de Worde.
185. These were; Mary of Oignies (d. 1213), Dorothea of Montau (1347 - 94) and Catherine of Sweden, daughter of St. Bridget (1303 - 1374). Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, pp. 19 - 22.
186. Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 59.
187. Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 60.

Chapter Four

'Verry Matrymony'

The marriages of Mary and Anne : how they fit in with medieval social practice

Having identified how many medieval folk contracted marriage, we must now examine how, if at all, Mary and Anne's marriages fitted in with that social practice. Let us begin with those who formulated the marital discourse which was to govern the formation of the marriages of the copulating laity and examine how they employed the marriage of Mary and Joseph.

Mary and Joseph, Sex and the Scholiasts: how Mary and Joseph's marriage fitted into medieval marital doctrine

As we have seen, the nature of marriage was a matter for debate between the coitalists and the consensualists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The marriage of Mary and Joseph was employed by both sides to support and illustrate/validate their theory of marriage formation, as has been demonstrated by Penny Schine Gold in her examination of twelfth century canonical treatises addressing marriage.¹

Hugh of St. Victor, Gratian and Peter Lombard were the key figures in the canonical wrangles concerning the nature of marriage formation and the role of coitus therein. Each writer made the assumption that Mary and Joseph married in a way that could be related to the marriages formed by ordinary men and women. As an exemplary couple, Mary and Joseph's marriage could serve as a social role model which supported and reinforced the view of marriage formation which the coitalists and the consensualists offered. In attempting to fit Mary and Joseph's union into a discourse of marriage both the consensualists but particularly the coitalists, encountered many difficulties.

Even in his use of Mary and Joseph's case as evidence that consent creates a marriage, Gratian encounters difficulties because of his desire to make part of the definition of consent, a consent to coitus. Gratian concludes that consent cannot mean consent to coitus because then there would have been no marriage between Mary and Joseph (as Mary had vowed to remain virgin) and to believe this was wicked.² To resolve the problem, Gratian cites Augustine's *On Virginity* in which the Church Father argued that Mary did, in a special way, consent to carnal coupling ;

Blessed Mary intended to keep her vow of virginity in her heart, but she did not express that vow of virginity with her mouth; she subjected herself to the divine disposition, intending to keep herself a virgin unless God revealed otherwise to her. Therefore, committing her virginity to the divine disposition, she consented to carnal coupling, not seeking it, but obeying the divine inspiration in either case.³

Gratian's theory of consent is strained further when he admits that consent to carnal coupling was not, however, the consent which made the marriage between Mary and Joseph. Gratian cites Augustine once again who argued that the consent which formed Mary and Joseph's marriage was consent to cohabitation and to keep an undivided life.⁴ Gratian uses Mary and Joseph once more to illustrate that a union without coitus is still a marriage. He argues, following Augustine, that Mary and Joseph were married because their union held all three goods of marriage; *proles* (Christ himself), *fides* and *sacramentum*.⁵

In complete contrast, Gratian then proceeds to use Mary and Joseph to present the case that it is coitus which makes a marriage and attempts to assimilate Mary and Joseph into a coitalist's theory of marriage. Mary and Joseph appear in this context where Gratian considers the dissolubility of an unconsummated marriage. Having argued that a couple whose marriage had never been consummated were legally free to separate and marry someone else, Gratian states that it appears that

Mary and Joseph were never married because Joseph had not known Mary. Lest Mary and Joseph be tainted with the accusation of being unmarried, Gratian offers a solution which merits quotation in full;

It must be known that marriage is begun by betrothal and completed by mixing. Hence between the betrothed there is a marriage but only the beginning: between the coupled there is a ratified marriage.⁶

In the light of this definition, when Gratian re-examines Mary and Joseph's marriage, this he found to be incomplete even though Augustine had argued that there was a complete (*perfectum*) marriage between the couple.⁷ To accommodate the Holy couple, Gratian is forced, for their particular case, to offer a different standard of 'completeness';

But complete is understood not from the office [sexual union] but from those things which accompany marriage, that is fidelity, offspring and sacrament.⁸

Gratian concludes his discussion of Mary and Joseph's marriage, and further obfuscates matters, by stating that Scripture sometimes calls people married when they are *simply betrothed* and claims that so it is with Mary and Joseph; Mary and Joseph were called spouses because they were *a future wife and husband*.

Hugh of St. Victor assimilates Mary and Joseph's union into a consensualists' theory of marriage formation with greater ease. This is not to say that the holy marriage did not present consensualists with difficulty in their theorising. Hugh wrote about Mary and Joseph's marriage in two works; the *Beate Mariae virginitate* (PL 176. 857 - 876) and *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* (PL 176. 173 - 618). Both works were written about the same time, around five years before Gratian's *Decretum*.⁹ Mary's marriage is raised in the *Beatae Mariae Virginitate* so that Hugh can eliminate it as a threat to Mary's continued virginity. This he does, by explaining that marriage involves two sacraments, one greater than the other, and his words are summarised thus by Schine Gold,

The first is the sacrament spoken of in Ephesians, the sacrament of Christ and the Church, which is made through the carnal union of the spouses.* Hugh calls this sacrament the office of marriage. There is, however, a second, greater sacrament, that of God and the Soul. This is made in the heart or spirit rather than in the flesh, and consists of the union of the two spouses in love. In this second sacrament, sexual union is not a necessity [...]¹⁰

* For this cause a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery [sacramentum]; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church. Ephesians 5 : 30 - 32.

According to Hugh's theorising, Mary and Joseph's celibate marriage contained only the second (but the greater) sacrament and so the union in no way compromised Mary's virginity for all that it was a proper marriage. Indeed, as we have already seen (in *Chapter Three*) Hugh believed that a chaste marriage, of which Mary and Joseph's was the perfect example, was spiritually a better option than a sexually active one.

Hugh discusses Mary and Joseph's marriage in *De Sacramentis* where it is mentioned in a consideration of when a marriage begins - at betrothal or after copulation. Hugh concludes that if a betrothal is understood by the couple to mean a promise of future consent then it is not a marriage but if the betrothal is understood as the contract of matrimony (which for Hugh means consent to that mutual association which is called marriage) then the marriage starts from that moment. Hugh could accommodate Mary and Joseph's marriage into the second of the two possible definitions.

Mary and Joseph's union is discussed also in Peter Lombard's *Libri IV Sententiarum : Four Books of Sentences*, written between fifteen to twenty years after the works of Hugh and Gratian.¹¹ In contrast with Hugh, the Lombard saw only one sacrament in marriage, which signified the union of Christ and the Church. The Lombard argued, however, that this single sacrament had two aspects; will and nature, one spiritual and one physical:

For as between husband and wife there is union in the consent of their souls and in the joining of their bodies, so the Church is joined to Christ by will and nature in that she wills the same as he, and he himself assumed the form of the nature of man. Therefore the bride is united to the bridegroom spiritually and physically, that is by love and by a conformity to nature. And the symbol of both these unions is marriage; for the consent of the husband and wife signifies the spiritual union of Christ and the Church which takes place through love; and the union of the sexes signifies the union which takes place through a conformity to nature.¹²

According to the Lombard, the marriage of Mary and Joseph had that part of the sacrament of marriage formed by the will but not that formed by nature, a lack which did not make their marriage less holy but, 'it was the more holy and perfect as it was the more free from carnal acts.'¹³

If half of the sacrament of marriage was lacking from Mary and Joseph's union how could it be understood as perfect (in the sense of complete) ?¹⁴ Lombard cites how it *is* perfect: in sanctity, 'for marriages are more holy by a mutual vow of continence' and because it contained the three goods of marriage as identified by St. Augustine.¹⁵ The Lombard followed Hugh in his belief that marriage is made by consent, which he identified as consent to conjugal association (not marital coitus) and assumed that Mary and Joseph had such an association.¹⁶

We conclude our survey of how some of the great theorists of the marital debate of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries accommodated Mary and Joseph into their marital doctrine with Thomas Aquinas' commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences*. What is striking is that, unlike the earlier authors, Aquinas devotes only brief discussion to Mary and Joseph's marriage. In contrast with Lombard, who proposed that consent in marriage meant consent to conjugal association, Aquinas was more specific. To consent in marriage was a consent implicitly but not explicitly, to sexual intercourse.¹⁷ With a little metaphysics, Aquinas was able to fit Mary and Joseph's marriage into this theory,

Carnal coupling belongs implicitly in the consent of the Virgin Mary, just as the act is contained implicitly in potency [...]. The potency, however, to carnal coupling is not contrary to virginity, neither does it diminish someone from purity unless by reason of the act itself; which indeed

never was intended by the blessed Virgin, but was already certified that the act was never meant to follow.¹⁸

In other words, Aquinas argued that in consenting to marriage, Mary signalled that she was physically capable of coitus but did not wish to and never intended to experience it. If both husband and wife express an intention to pay the debt and neither demands it, we have a marriage since nothing is withheld.

Aquinas discusses Mary's marriage at comparatively greater length in his *Summa Theologicae*, where he reasoned that Mary and Joseph had a true, that is complete marriage. This is achieved, however, only with some concession on his part. Aquinas identified a true and complete marriage as,

[...] an inseparable union of souls in which the husband and wife are pledged in an unbreakable bond of mutual love, and the purpose is the birth and training of children.¹⁹

Aquinas concedes that Mary and Joseph's marriage meets most, but not all, of the criteria (it lacked the begetting of children). He bolsters this apparent lack by observing, as had Gratian and Lombard before him, that it contained all of the three goods of marriage identified by Augustine.

What can one conclude from the appearance of Mary and Joseph in those works which were to form the backbone of the Church's marital discourse? The men who formulated the theory which was to mould social practice, believed Mary and Joseph's marriage was central to any formation of marital discourse. Secondly, that the accommodation of the holy marriage into a discourse which was to govern lived social practice caused difficulty and required certain mental gymnastics on the part of the theorist, to the point of becoming contradictory (Gratian), opaque (Hugh of St. Victor and the Lombard over the matter of consent), of resorting to making the holy marriage a special case (Hugh and the Lombard) or simply by not dwelling too long on the fact (Aquinas). Thirdly, that the scholiasts employed Mary and Joseph's marriage to demonstrate a number of

facets of marital doctrine; (i) the importance and meaning of consent in marriage formation, (ii) that marriage has a sacramental quality (two according to Hugh, one comprising two parts according to Lombard and as one of the Seven sacraments of the New Covenant according to Aquinas), (iii) the moment when a marriage is deemed to start (following Hugh, from the betrothal if this is understood to be a contract to conjugal association, otherwise at a future date), (iv) that a chaste marriage is still a valid marriage and (v) the definition of a true and complete marriage is that which contains consent and the three goods of marriage.

Having established that the educated elite manipulated the image of Mary and Joseph's marriage in their marital discourse, we need now to examine how this image appeared in those works destined for lay consumption. How did representations and discussions of Mary and Joseph's marriage feature in vernacular texts ? Let us examine first principles : did the medieval faithful understand Mary and Joseph to have been married ?

God wolde that she were espoused and wedded²⁰

Evidence of medieval understanding that Mary and Joseph were married

It is of note that the terminology used to describe Mary and Joseph's union in the later Middle Ages signalled to the medieval reader/hearer that Mary and Joseph had been married in a manner that was to be understood in terms of contemporary practice.²¹

When Mary and Joseph's relationship is described in the Greek of the Canonical Gospels, the term employed is *mensteuomai* (Matthew 1 : 18 and Luke 1 : 27), meaning 'to be engaged'.²² Later on, Joseph and Mary are referred to as *aner* (Matthew 1 : 19) and *gune* (Matthew 1 : 20), that is, as man and woman.²³ Some time ago, Graef explained that, according to Jewish law of the first century

C.E., an engaged or betrothed couple were already legally considered as married, although the marriage was not complete and consummated until the husband had taken the wife into his own home and the nuptial rites had been performed. The period of the engagement usually lasted for a year.²⁴ The occurrence of Mary and Joseph's betrothal is explicit in the Greek, although the words with which to describe them after Christ's birth, that is as 'man' and 'woman', commonly although not always meant 'husband' and 'wife'.²⁵ The terms are hopelessly confusing in a world where adults are normally married. This vagueness extant in the earliest source of details about Mary was eliminated in Jerome's Vulgate translation, one assumes for the sake of propriety, by the use of *coniunx*, from *coniungere* : join together, with which to describe Mary (as in Matthew 1 : 24 - 25), where *coniunx* was the technically exact word for 'spouse'²⁶ suggesting that Mary and Joseph had been betrothed or engaged and then the process was completed by their marrying.

In the thirteenth century, Thomas of Hales' *VSM* (section xi) and Alexander Hales' *Mariale* (f. 128v, col. 2 l. 24) use the term *desponsacio*, to describe Mary and Joseph' relationship, which in 1200, could mean either 'betrothal', what we today would understand by 'engagement or promise to marry' or the actual 'marriage'. In Thomas of Hales' work the ceremony which they go through is described as *nupcium* or marriage, leaving no doubt about their status. The English copy of the *VBI MSR* to be found in BL Additional 29, 434 describes Joseph as ordered by the priests to take Mary and, 'in coniugem duceret' (f. 25^v, l. 1) and that the priests tell Joseph that " virginem tibi desponsamus, eam ut in coniugem accipies " (f. 25^v, ll. 5 - 7). The priests clearly envisage a bi-partite process of betrothal followed by marriage, again leaving no doubt about their status. The bi-partite process also suggests that the term *desponsatio* is not a

commitment of the pair to each other but the father's, or in Mary's case, her guardians' contract with the future bridegroom. By the second millennium, medieval English vernacular writers drew from a pool of contemporary terms by which to describe Anne and Mary's relationships with their partners.

The Middle English terms used in the thirteenth century, as found in the *NMC*, retain the possibility for confusion over Mary and Joseph's marital status. The verb used in *NMC* is to be 'wedded(e)'. The term 'wedded' is related to the OE 'wedde', a 'pledge'. This then becomes the verb, 'ge-weddian', used to describe betrothal but not necessarily marriage. The term 'spouse', from the Latin 'sponsa' and from which 'spowshode' and 'spousehed' both derive, can mean both a wife or a husband or a betrothed man or woman (as we would understand fiancé/fiancée), again a possibility for confusion concerning Mary and Joseph's status. A key aspect of this word is that the person and the union which it denoted is *legitimate*.²⁷

The *NMC* writer clears up all confusion by his description of Mary and Joseph as the gender specific 'hosebonde/husbond and wyf', terms used to describe those who are legitimately married and who share 'spowshode/spousehed' one with another.

By the fourteenth century, Middle English had several terms with which to describe a marital union and which, in turn, were used to describe that of Mary and Joseph : the older terms were still available as one could still be spoused/spoused or wedded but now also 'married' or undergo 'holiest matremony' (as in the *N.town Mary Play*). The verb 'mari(e)' carried the meaning of parents or superiors giving their offspring or subordinates in marriage to someone²⁸ and by calling the resultant union 'holiest' this suggests that it was seen as in some way

sanctified. By describing Mary and Joseph as 'married', the implication was that their union was sanctioned by both parents/superiors and God himself.

By the fifteenth century, Mary and Joseph's union was regularly described as a 'maryage' and that they were maryed/ied, although one can still find descriptions of them as 'wedde/weddid' and having participated in wedlock/wedlak, as in the *Lives of Anne*, the translation of the *Book of the Knight* and Lydgate's *LOL*.

The vernacular terms used to describe Mary and Joseph's union in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries left no doubt that they were legally and fully married in a way that could be understood by medieval men and women. A feature of Marian devotion in this period is that the confusion over whether Mary and Joseph were married or merely betrothed which had existed amongst the early Church Fathers, is cleared up. This leads one to question why the medieval faithful were instructed in the fact of Mary and Joseph's marriage and by whom.

Bot meche folk meruelyed of þat maryage
and why that god wolde ordeyne swyche a weddyng.
Life of Anne, Version C, fol. 27b., l.369 - 70

Medieval understanding of the motivation for Mary and Joseph's marriage

The medieval laity were informed that Mary was a married woman. This information had a long pedigree. From the second century C.E., a number of the Church Fathers had considered for what reason(s) Mary and Joseph had married. These were discussed in *Chapter One*.

As we have seen, in England, the patristic teaching concerning why Mary and Joseph married was first summarised by Bede, who itemised the reasons; Mary had to have a husband who was a reliable witness to her virginity, and who would be a faithful guardian of Christ and carry out services, protect her against stoning,

guarantee Christ's genealogy and participate in a marriage which would conceal Christ's birth from the Devil.²⁹ In his commentary on Luke 2, Bede is most concerned to point out that Mary was not an unmarried mother, lest this erroneous belief be exploited by whom he describes as 'wayward women'.³⁰ Bede's thinking concerning Mary and Joseph's marriage remained current between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. As early as the thirteenth century, however, Marian devotees began to formulate opinions of their own concerning Mary's marriage. From the central Middle Ages onwards, Mary and Joseph's marriage is discussed and portrayed more frequently and in texts destined for lay consumption. There is a slight but perceptible change in the justification offered for Mary and Joseph's marital union, giving voice to a more positive attitude towards marriage. We will examine in the first instance those works which most clearly follow Bede.

Alexander Hales' *Mariale* (terminus post quem 1248) gives the following reasons for their marriage; Mary married Joseph to deceive the Devil (here Hales cites Origen as his source), to defend Mary against evil rumours, so that Joseph might be a witness to Mary's innocence, so that Mary might not be stoned as an adulteress (here he gives his source as Bede) and so that Joseph might take care of Mary on the flight into Egypt.³¹ Thomas of Hales' mid-thirteenth century work, the *VSM* and its fifteenth century vernacular translation gives two reasons for the marriage; to maintain Mary's virginity and to deceive the Devil, not about Christ's birth but to deceive the one who sets traps for virgins, 'þe deuil þat aspieþ virgins' (section 11, l. 9). Thomas Hales, like Bede before him, was clearly concerned about the sexual morality of his female contemporaries. The composer of *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300) identifies why Mary and Joseph married in a section entitled 'Why Ihesu Crist born wold be of a spowsid mayde telle we.' The writer details

three reasons for their marriage which can be seen to have originated in patristic thought; that their marriage deceive the Devil, that it prevent the Jews from stoning Mary and that Mary not want for a man's help wherever she went (ll. 10785 - 10816).

The French work called *The Book of the Knight of La-Tour Landry* (1371; translated into English in the fifteenth century) contains the following passage, in which the knight explains why Mary and Joseph married;

God wolde that she were espoused and wedded vnto the holy man Ioseph, that were an olde rightfull man; for God wolde be borne withinne the bonde of holy mariage, in fulfellyng and orto obeye vnto the lawe, and forto eschewe the suspecion of the worldely speche. And also the blessed mayde shulde haue companie to plesse her forto kepe her and forto gouerne her and to lede her into Egipte. (*Book of the Knight*, fol. 48, cols. 1 and 2)

Missing are the doctrinal justifications (to deceive the Devil, and guarantee Christ's genealogy, Joseph as witness to Mary's chastity/ theirs being a chaste marriage) but what is retained is the justification of Joseph as Mary's helper and marriage used to avoid slander about Christ's arrival. The Knight presents a picture of an older man who would provide his wife with pleasing company, who would govern her and guide her. This relationship would also produce a legitimate heir about whose birth nothing slanderous might be said. It would seem that the Knight has distilled the reasons for Mary and Joseph's marriage into instruction to suit the marriage requirements of the aristocratic class to which he belonged; the production of legitimate heirs whose legitimacy could not be challenged. For his social group, marriage, the means of mingling bloodlines and of securing genealogies, does not need the fillip of having Mary and Joseph partake of this institution. It appears that he felt that his daughters, the projected audience of the work, did not need to know the theological niceties about Mary and Joseph's marriage. The Knight uses Mary and Joseph's marriage as instruction against that

most feared by the aristocracy - the charge of illegitimacy. We may conjecture that in his presentation of Joseph, 'an olde rightfull man', La Tour Landry was also preparing his daughters for the kind of suitor which they might expect; an older man who, once a husband, would take control of the wife's well-being and authority over her actions.

The fifteenth century *Life of St. Anne* (type C, as contained in Oxford, Bodleian MS. 10234 (Tanner 407)) details why Mary and Joseph married, in a section answering, 'why that god wolde ordeyne swyche a weddyng' (fol. 27b., l. 370) The poet suggests that his contemporaries might query the marriage because it is between '[...] so zong a maydyn and a man of gret age' (l. 371), perhaps not a surprising assumption considering that this life post-dates Chaucer's lively example of the *mal-marié* tradition, January and May in *The Merchant's Tale*. The poet lists seven reasons for the marriage, some of which are related to those offered by Bede, others original to the *Life of Anne* poet. The reasons given are; that God wished to be born 'in þe lawe of wedlak þat hym self ordand' (l. 382), uniquely, so that no other man might desire her (and presumably try to marry her) (l. 383), to avoid Mary being slandered and shamed as an unmarried mother, that Joseph be her help and companion, that Joseph be a witness to her chastity, that the Devil might be deceived and also, again uniquely in this version of the *Life of Anne*, that the Jews be deceived.

A small corpus of works use the marriage of Mary and Joseph quite specifically to raise the profile of marriage as an institution. The earliest work to do so is thirteenth century and the phenomenon continues into the fifteenth century. The *NMC* (c. 1275 - 80) poet states the by now familiar justification for the Holy marriage, that God did not wish Mary to be unmarried for fear of her

being slandered for being an unmarried mother and so that the Devil did not know of the arrival of Christ born to a virgin and could thus 'distourble' the Passion of Christ (ll. 182 - 186). In a new departure, the *NMC* poet gives a reason as yet unseen,

And our lord wolde eke þat is moder were in þe stat of [eche] godehede / of [wymmen-states] þe
þer beþ: þe hexte is maydenhede, / þat opir [hexte] is [wydewehed, spoused] þe þridde is; /
Alle þe hadde þe swete mayde þat our lord bar ywis. / Heo was mayde and wyf and wydewe
[...]

(*NMC*, ll. 187 - 192)

In the *NMC* and its derivatives, the *CM* and *EN*, Mary is shown to have married because of God's desire that his mother share the experience of those married women listening to the temporale poem - that is, virginity, marriage and what can be its corollary, widowhood. For the *NMC* poet and his redactors, Mary's very participation in the institution of marriage venerates that institution.

Lorens D' Orleans *Somme Le Roy* (1297), known in England in its fourteenth century translation *The Book of Vices and Virtues* and Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* (1340), combines second century and thirteenth century reasons for Mary's marriage;

After, it [marriage] is a staate of grete worpinesse.
For God hymself wolde be bore of a wif, þat was of þe
maide Marie, wherefore þe maide Marie made a mantel of
mariage wher-vnder Goddes sone was conceyued and borne.
Vnder þat mantel was hiled from þe deuel þe pryete and
þe counseil of oure raunsom and of oure helpe, & þerfore
þan scholde men worschipe it moche and clenliche &
honestliche kepe it for þe holnesse þer-of.

Mary's marriage was a cloak to hide Christ's birth from the Devil which served the purpose of raising the status of marriage to 'great worthiness' (i) through Mary's participation in it and (ii) its role in the salvation of humanity.

The *Tretys* (written between the thirteenth and fifteenth century), in answer to its question, 'Whye was þis/mayden wedded þan/ To Ioseph þat was a rygt chaste

man ?' (f. 85^v, ll. 719 - 20), provides reasons which echo those provided by Bede; that her marriage protect her against stoning as an adulteress, that she have service and comfort from Joseph who could also be witness to her virginity, that her marriage prevent 'women also þat foles wolde been/ For love of her folye her felyschip schulde fleene', that Christ's incarnation be hidden from Satan (*Tretys*, f.85^v, ll. 719 - 734). In a departure from Bede but not unlike the *NMC* poet, the *Tretys* writer also reclaims the state of matrimony as a state worthy of praise because Mary was herself married, 'This laste skylle is for lovesome lore / þat wedlocke schulde be loved þe more.' (*Tretys*, ll. 735 - 6)

A most detailed vernacular treatment of why Mary and Joseph married can be found in the *SHS* (1310x1324), known in England through the fifteenth century Middle English translation, the *Mirour of Mans Saluacion*. In this work eight reasons are given for the marriage;

- (i) that Mary not be believed pregnant by fornication and be damned as an adulteress
- (ii) God wished the presence and help of a man might give her comfort
- (iii) that the Devil might be tricked about Christ's incarnation
- (iv) that Joseph might be witness to her chastity (who should know the truth above all others)
- (v) that Christ's genealogy should descend from Joseph
- (vi) that matrimony should be approved of as holy and not despised as evil by any man, nor be reproved
- (vii) to demonstrate that virginity can be kept in matrimony as long as both parties consent
- (viii) that wedded folk should not despair, thinking that only the state of virginity allows one to be saved.

Reasons (i) - (v) were commonplace by the time that the *SHS* was written and certainly by the time of its translation into Middle English. Reasons (vi) - (viii) are more interesting because of their peculiarly medieval nature. As in the *NMC*, *Tretys* and *Book of Vices and Virtues*, and the lone voice of St. Basil some seven

hundred years earlier, the writer of the *SHS* reclaims matrimony from a spiritual twilight, through Mary's participation in this state. (Viii) would appear to imply that even married folk can be saved come the Day of Judgement whilst (vii) proffers the hope that one can remain virgin in marriage *if both parties consent*. Why this reason was included and its doctrinal implications will be discussed later.

The medieval faithful were provided with reasons why Mary and Joseph married, some of which would have had contemporary relevance; that her child not be born out of adultery or fornication, that Mary might have a man to help her, that chastity in marriage was permissible if both parties consented. What can be detected also, is a deliberate promotion of marriage as a worthy state, rendered so specifically through Mary's participation in it. All of those works which do promote marriage in this way are written in the vernacular for lay consumption and have a didactic and informative purpose.

Ensaumple haue we þerby,
Of Ioseph þat wedyd oure lady:
þere was verry matrymony
with-oute fleshly dede of any.
Handlyng Synne (ll. 1657 - 60)

More than a chaste Marriage

As above quotation suggests, one aspect of marital practice which the marriage of Mary and Joseph obviously exemplified was that of chaste or spiritual marriage. Brunne states quite clearly in *Handlyng Synne* that by the example of Mary and Joseph we may see that a chaste marriage was still a *verry*, that is a complete and indissoluble, union. He was not alone in making this point. Not two decades later, in 1320, William of Shoreham informed his congregation that Mary and Joseph's marriage had been chaste, 'so ferde marye and ioseph / By assent þat clene hem

held.' (*De Matrimonio*, stanza 292, ll. 2043 - 4) In the fifteenth century *Life of Anne* (type B), the audience is informed that Mary and Joseph married 'nat carnally / ne coupled by carnall affeccion' (ll. 518 - 9). Each writer uses mention of Mary and Joseph's chaste marriage for a purpose additional to that of merely discussing chaste marriage.

The context in which Robert of Brunne employs the holy marriage is not one of encouraging his audience to participate in a-sexual matrimony but rather to instruct that a first marriage is binding and indissoluble, *whether it has been consummated or not*,

By þys ensauple mayst thou see
þat the ferste womman þy wyff shulde be. (ll. 1671 - 2)

Brunne is instructing, without any technical detail or vocabulary in deference to an audience unskilled in canon law, the standard canon law that it is consent and not coitus that makes a marriage full, licit and indissoluble and therefore a first giving of consent whether coitus has occurred or not, takes precedence over any other union subsequently formed.

When William of Shoreham mentions Mary and Joseph in his *De Matrimonio* sermon, it is in the context of teaching the when, where and how of spiritually safe sex. Shoreham informs his audience that complete abstinence from sex, as long as it is with good intention, is like the marriage of Mary and Joseph, 'so ferde Marye and ioseph / By assent þat clene hem held' (stanza 292) and is neither against the sacrament 'of gode and holy cherch', meaning marriage as one of the Seven Sacraments (standard doctrinal belief since Aquinas), nor contrary to any of the three goods of marriage; 'treuþe' (*fides*), 'strene' (*proles*) and 'sacrement' (*sacramentum*). Shoreham explains that continence is not contrary to the good of

procreation but rather better as *both* partners have agreed to continence whereas it takes only one to demand the right to the marital debt. In using the example of Mary and Joseph, Shoreham teaches that marriage is one of the Seven Sacraments, and hence spiritually efficacious, and contains three goods or benefits. Like Brunne before him, Shoreham does not identify Aquinas and Augustine respectively, as the sources of these theories and chooses to use language appropriate to his audience. Also like Brunne, Shoreham does not encourage his parishioners to practice spiritual marriage whilst living as part of the community for he suggests that if a couple is minded to embrace chastity, both partners should enter religion and take a solemn vow of chastity (which we have seen meant a public and binding one);

And ȝyf boþe beþ of god wylle,
And of assent at emne,
To take to religion
And makye a vou solempne. (stanza 295, ll. 2059 - 62)

Mention of Mary and Joseph's marriage in *The Life of Anne (Type B)* is different in kind from Brunne and Shoreham in that it explains the chaste aspect of their union as something God-given and therefore unusual, 'The conneccion was verrey heuenly - the godehede toke holely direccion' (ll. 519 - 20). The implication is that the chastity of their marriage cannot be replicated by ordinary folk. Its celebration, however, did follow contemporary practice,

Natwithstandyng hit was [dunne] lawfully
Aftyr the course and forme vsually. (ll. 522 - 3)

The *Life of Anne (Type B)* poet did not feel it necessary to elaborate on the actual celebration of the marriage. Such reticence was not a feature of other writers and especially the visual artists, the latter making a significant contribution in the

production of works which used portrayals of Mary and Joseph's marriage to reinforce how the Church preferred a marriage ceremony to take place.

Into þe tempyl a spowse to wedde
N. Town Mary Play, l. 612

Mary and Joseph's Wedding Ceremony

As we have seen from our examination of English marriage liturgies, by the twelfth century elaborate liturgies were developing, which involved a variety of rituals which were to take place *in facie ecclesiae*; exchange of vows, ring giving and nuptial blessings. A priest was responsible for making public a couple's intention to marry, for discovering if the couple were legally free to marry, that their consent was freely given and then to give the woman into the care of the man. As long as the couple were legally free to marry, gave their consent willingly and, post Lateran IV, publicly announced their intention to marry, all of the church ritual as described above was *optional*. As we have seen from the evidence of the Church courts, the optional extras often were forgone, creating much work for them to prove the validity of marriages contracted in clandestine conditions.

Where a ceremony is described in the medieval visual and written portrayals of their marriage, Mary and Joseph participate in all or some of the symbolic events of contemporary medieval marriage liturgy and practice *in facie ecclesiae*; witnesses are present, Mary and Joseph join hands, vows are exchanged, a ring is exchanged and the couple are blessed. Not all of these symbolic events may be present in any one rendition of the narrative but three facets are almost always

present; the celebration is presided over by a celebrant in a church, in front of witnesses.

(i) *Officially Blessed*

Having said that Mary and Joseph's wedding is usually presided over by a church official, let us begin with an exception to the rule. The *Salvin Hours* (c. 1275 - 80) has no celebrant but depicts Mary and Joseph 'marrying themselves' before a group of witnesses. Doctrinally, this would have been accurate, for the consent of the couple alone made a marriage. The *Salvin Hours* is unusual in its omission of a celebrant. The *Bedford Hours* portrays the celebrant as a Jewish high priest and so may claim some historical accuracy. The majority of the illustrations and written works, however, firmly locate Mary and Joseph's wedding in their contemporary society by portraying the presiding official as a representation of the medieval Church.

The English copy of the *VBVMSR* is unusual as the celebrant is depicted as a tonsured priest in a blue robe (f. 29v). The *De Brailes Hours* depicts the celebrant as a priest in a hat (f. 10v). In other pictorial representations examined in *chapter two*, such as the wall paintings in All Saints, Croughton and the *Egerton Hours*, the presiding celebrant wears a mitre, a collared cope over an alb and may be presumed a medieval bishop. The celebrant's Episcopal status is attested to in the written descriptions, as the English works invariably describe the celebrant as a bishop; Thomas Hales *VSM* terms him *pontifex* in the Latin and 'bishop' is given in the Middle English translation, the *NMC* and its derivatives employ the term 'bischof', as does *Cursor Mundi*, the *N.town Mary play* stage direction uses the appellation 'Episcopus', the *Lives of Anne* use 'bishop', *Tretys* calls him 'byssshoppe' and Lydgate uses the term 'bisshope.' It would seem that Mary and Joseph's

wedding was conceived of as following the pattern of medieval royalty and the aristocracy, where an important church official presided over the celebration.

(ii) *The use of a sacred building*

A second important aspect of the presentation of Mary and Joseph's marriage, is that where a setting is specified, the wedding takes place in a sacred building. The written works portraying the holy marriage, deriving as they do from an apocryphal source, imply or may state that the ceremony takes place in the Temple of Jerusalem. The visual sources, however, locate the ceremony in churches of the design contemporary with the work in which they feature. The wall painting in Croughton, the *Bedford Hours*, the Betrothal window in Fairford Parish Church and an illustration accompanying a copy of Lydgate's *LOL* to be found in Oxford, MS Bodley 596, f. 96 (dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century) all locate the ceremony in English churches; inside and in front of open doors as in Croughton, on the altar steps of wealthy, highly ornate churches in the *Bedford Hours* and the Fairford glass and in the accompanying illustration for *LOL*, outside, in front of the door beneath a rose window. (see *figure 4*, p. 101.)

The locale is of interest as each of the three chosen by the artists; outside the church door, inside the church before the door, on the altar steps, are all locale associated with the performance of the marriage liturgy in the central Middle Ages. Exactly which aspects of the liturgy are being described in these illustrations will be examined below.

(iii) *Witnesses*

The third facet which usually features in written and visual portrayals of Mary and Joseph's marriage is the presence of witnesses. The apocryphal narratives imply but do not stipulate the presence of witnesses, such as the high priest and the

other suitors for Mary, before whom Mary and Joseph marry. Throughout the central Middle Ages, Mary and Joseph are shown to be married before onlookers who often include Mary's parents Anne and Joachim, as if present, as medieval parents may have been, to give away their daughter in marriage.

The earliest visual example of the presence of witnesses can be found in the *Salvin Hours*. The marriage is portrayed inside the foliage of a Tree of Jesse which occupies a full-page initial D. The marriage is being watched by a group of seven men whom one may interpret as seven of the tribe of David who unsuccessfully tried for Mary's hand.

The wall paintings of All Saints Church, Croughton, Northamptonshire, from around 1300, depict Mary and Joseph's marriage witnessed by seven women and what appears to be a young boy. The seven women may represent the seven Temple virgins who, according to the *Evangelium*, accompany Mary after her marriage. The clothes, headress and age of the woman who stands to the front of the group may, however, identify her as Saint Anne. (see *figure 2*, p. 99.)

The *Egerton Hours* (f. 10^v) shows Mary and Joseph married before onlookers; a man and a woman stand behind Mary (Joachim and Anne ?) and two men stand behind Joseph. A curly-headed angel peeps from behind the bishop's head and watches what Joseph is doing.

In the *N.town Mary Play*, Mary and Joseph are married before the Bishop, Anne and Joachim who have brought Mary back to the Temple (l. 620) to be married and the four generations of David (other suitors for Mary). In an illustration in the *Bedford Hours* (f. 32) and in the 'Betrothal Window' of St. Mary's Church, Fairford in Gloucestershire (c. 1498), Mary and Joseph marry before only male onlookers (the disappointed suitors? - see *figure 1*, p. 98). The

illustration accompanying Lydgate's *LOL*, in Oxford, Bodley 596 also depicts male witnesses standing behind the couple. (see *figure 4*, p.101)

Mary and Joseph's wedding is a public, not a private nor clandestine event whose validity could be later challenged. As it says in the *Life of Anne (Type A)*, Mary and Joseph are depicted as marrying 'oppynly' (l. 561). Another aspect of the witnesses to the marriage is that Joachim and Anne, presumably having given their consent, are often present watching, as would any parents, their daughter's wedding.

(iv) *Handfasting*

As we have seen, in some of the illustrations of Mary and Joseph's marriage, the ceremony is shown taking place outside the church door, whilst in others it occurs inside the church (either in front of the door or on the altar steps). The couple are often shown having their right hands joined by a priest (who usually holds the status of bishop), or, as in the *De Brailes Hours*, clasping hands themselves. The gesture of handfasting can be found in the wall-paintings at Croughton, in the *De Brailes Hours*, the *Egerton Hours*, the *Bedford Hours*, the Fairford 'Betrothal Window', the Whalley Abbey orphrey and the illustration of Lydgate's *LOL* in Bodley MS 596, f. 96. (see *figures 1, 2, 3 and 4*, pp. 98-101)

Liturgically, the gesture usually took place either at the church door (as identified in *Bury St. Edmunds* (1125 - 35), *Anianus' Pontifical* (1268 - 1304), the thirteenth century *Parish Missal of Hanley Castle* and the fifteenth century MS Harley 2860 - see *Appendix 6*) or inside the church (as in the *York and Sarum* Manuals of the fourteenth century - see *Appendix 6*).

In the *Egerton Hours* the handfasting is done over an altar draped in a red, embroidered cloth and so one must assume that it took place inside a church. At

Croughton the couple handfast inside the church, in front of the open doors. In the *Bedford Hours* the couple appear to be standing outside a building with arched vaulting. In the Fairford glass, the handfasting takes place inside a late medieval church setting (St. Mary's itself ?). The illustration accompanying *LOL* shows the handfasting occurring outside the church doors. (see *figure 4*)

The gesture can also be found in the written discussions of Mary and Joseph's marriage. In the *Tretys*, the earliest written work to include handfasting, the bishop gives the instruction to hold hands to both Mary and Joseph,

'Ioseph', he seyde, 'putte forþe þi honde [...]
'Putte forþe þi/honde, mayden Marye [...] (ll. 507, 513)

Two fifteenth century Marian lives contain the gesture. The *Life of St. Anne* (Type A) portrays it thus,

'þe bishop toke hym þan be þe hand,
Mary he gayf hym tyll
& bad hym lede with hyr hys lyfe
In lele matremony als with hys wyfe [...] (ll. 584 - 87)

whilst it appears also in Lydgate's *LOL*,

So made was tho, the confirmacion
By hest of wedlok, by twene theym
hande by hande
And he [Joseph] hir toke, to his possession [...] (ll. 765-8)

The surviving marriage liturgies make clear the point at which the ritual of handfasting occurs and its significance; it occurs after the consent of the couple has been given and is the moment when the priest transfers the woman into the legal power of the husband, after which the couple make their promises to each other.

Although Joseph is at first reluctant to agree to the wedding (if one recalls from the apocryphal sources he uses the excuse of his great age and Mary's youth

which will make him a laughing stock), he does eventually consent (helped on by the threat of Divine retribution if he gainsays God's will); in *Tretys* Joseph states, '[...] Y wylle þe take / as for my wyfe and never forsake,/ And þere-to make y myne a-vowe.' (ll.485-7) and he and Mary agree to a chaste marriage, 'Wip oon assente boþe he and sche / Maden þeyre hyge a-vowe of chastyte.' (ll. 495 -6), in *Life Of Anne* although Mary's consent is assumed rather than stated, Joseph agrees, 'Godes byddyng wil I noȝt dispise/ For I am lowed & still / Redy to do þat ȝe commande.' (ll. 581 - 4) and in Lydgate's *LOL* again Mary's consent is assumed and Joseph exclaims, 'I woll not for / no thyng/ To goddes will or byddyng be contrar / But hir accept vnto my kepyng (ll. 757-9). In these three works, immediately after Joseph's giving of consent, the handfasting takes place. In the *Egerton Hours*, the illuminator has captured Joseph's momentary hesitation, with the inclusion of the curly-headed angel (peeping out from behind the bishop) who wags his finger disapprovingly at Joseph's reluctance.

Mary and Joseph's marriage is perfectly orthodox in respect of the handfasting. They are depicted or described performing the recognised ritual which follows that which the Church felt crucial to marriage formation ; the freely given consent of both individuals. The aspect in which Mary and Joseph's handfasting differs from medieval marital practice can be detected only in the written works where there is an omission of the words which usually precede the gesture and which we would recognise as the 'I will' responses. The *Sarum* rite gives us the following speeches as those which precede handfasting :

N. wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, wilt thou love her, and honour her, keep her and guard her, in health and in sickness, as a husband should a wife, and forsaking all others on account of her, keep thee only unto her, so long as you both shall live ?
The man shall answer 'I will'.

Then the priest shall say unto the woman,
N. wilt thou take this man to thy wedded husband, wilt
thou obey him, and serve him, love, honour, and keep him
in health and in sickness, as a wife should a husband,
and forsaking all others on account of him, keep thee
only unto him, so long as ye both shall live ?
The woman shall answer 'I will'.³²

Their omission can be explained on two counts. Firstly, they are redundant in all three works under discussion as Joseph can be heard to consent in his own words and Mary can be understood to consent by implication (*Life of Anne* and *LOL*) or in her reported speech (*Tretys*). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the content of the woman's response is inappropriate for Mary. Joseph could, with impunity, have been made to promise to love, honour, keep and guard Mary and to forsake all others for her but Mary, key component in God's salvific schema, Queen of Heaven and Intercessor, could never have been heard to promise to obey and serve a man who was, according to the reasons for their marriage as known to the medieval faithful, *her* helpmate and servant.

(v) *The exchange of Vows*

In some of the marriage liturgies from the thirteenth century onwards, after the giving of consent and during the handfasting, an exchange of vows between the couple takes place. This 'plighting of troths' was to become standard practice from the fourteenth century. The *Liber Evesham* calls the exchange a form of pledge whilst by the mid-fourteenth century both the *York* and *Sarum* manuals identify a moment for the exchange of vows. It is in the representation of the exchange of vows between Mary and Joseph that the written works come into their own, particularly those in which different narrative voices can be heard.

In the *Tretys* and *N-Town* Mary and Joseph exchange vows and plight their troth. In both instances the Marian works merit quotation in full and comparison

with their contemporary, the *Sarum* rite which became widespread throughout England after the mid-fourteenth century :

Tretys (ll. 507 - 18)

'Ioseph', he sayde, putte forþe
þi honde[...]

And seye to Marye wiþ-uten stryfe :

I take þe here, Marye, for my wyfe,
Wip þee to lyve wiþ-uten synne
Tylle deþe departe vs boþe
a-twynne.'

Putte forþe þi / honde, mayden
Marye,
And saye to Ioseph wiþ curtesye :
'In Goddes name y vnderstonde
The here Ioseph to my housbonde
Trewelye to love and serve þe mooste
In worsshippe wiþ þe grace of þe
Holy goost.

N.town Mary Play (ll. 883 - 890)

To hauyn, to holden [...] as God his wyll with us
wyll make [...]
And as longe as bethwen us [...] lestyght oure lyff
[...]
To loue ȝow as myselff [...] my trewth I ȝow take.

nunc ad Mariam, sic dicens
Mary, wole ȝe haue þis man
And hym to kepyn as ȝour lyuff ?

Maria

In tenderest wyse, fadyr, as I kan,
And with all my wyttys fyff.

Sarum³³

And let him [groom] hold her by her right hand in his
right hand.

And so let the man give his troth to the woman by
word of mouth, presently, after the priest, saying thus
:

I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife, to have and to
hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for
richer, for poorer, in sickness, and in health, till death
us do part, if holy church will ordain it : And thereto I
plight thee my troth. (withdrawing hand)

Then the woman shall say after the priest :
I N. take thee N. to my wedded husband, to have and
to hold from this day, for better, for worse, for richer,
for poorer, in sickness, and in health, to be obedient,
in bed and at board till death do us part, if holy church
will ordain it and thereto I plight thee my troth.
(withdrawing her hand).

Several aspects of the relationship between each Marian work and the *Sarum* vows are worthy of comment. Firstly, one is struck by the identical process demonstrated in each; the Marian works replicate the repetition by the individual, first the man and then the woman, of the priest's words, which is the process found in the marriage liturgy. Indeed, the *N.town* copyist has gone so far as to indicate the repetition of phrases by using '...' to mark a pause or breaks to allow repetition to occur.³⁴ Secondly, the verbal echo between Joseph's vow in the Marian works and the wording of the man's response in *Sarum* is striking. In *Tretys* and as Meredith has pointed out, *N.town Mary Play* also,³⁵ Joseph's 'I take thee Mary, for my wife' replicates the opening of the male vow as found in *Sarum*. Only *N.town Mary Play* has Joseph promise to 'have and hold' Mary (that is to have authority over her), perhaps the *Tretys* writer, having identified the reasons why Mary and Joseph married felt that this was an inappropriate status for Joseph to hold, but in *N.town Mary Play* this authority is qualified as being a condition subject to God's direction, not Joseph's, 'as God his wyll with us wyll make.' Both *Tretys* and *N.town Mary Play* omit the middle section of the man's vow in which he promises to remain with the woman through all life's trials, but conclude with the promise, as made by all husbands, that he would remain with his wife until separated by death. This aspect is repeated verbatim in *Tretys*, 'tylle deþe departe vs boþe a-twynne' and more obliquely in *N.town*, 'And as longe as bethwen us [...] lestyght oure lyff.' This promise by Joseph could be seen as an extension of his role as protector of Mary and therefore would have presented little problem doctrinally. Also missing is the phrase in *Sarum*, 'if holy church will ordain it'; this was not a requirement for Mary and Joseph's marriage which had been ordained by the highest authority : God.

With Mary's troth plighting there is greater discrepancy between the female response in the liturgy and Mary's words in the Marian works. *Sarum* has 'I N. take thee N. to my wedded husband'. *Tretys* does demonstrate some resemblance to the liturgy, as Mary repeats after the priest and accepts Joseph as her husband. Unlike in the liturgy, Mary promises to love him, 'trewelye to love and serve þe mooste in worshippe' but Mary qualifies this love and service as that sanctioned by the Holy Ghost. The majority of *Sarum's* female vow, in which the woman promises to remain with her husband through life's trials, and to be gentle and obedient in bed and at board until death separates them, is missing because it was highly inappropriate for Mary and Joseph's chaste marriage.

Mary's vow in the *N.town Mary Play* is completely different from any extant medieval marriage liturgy in that Mary's vow is not the repeated words of the bishop, but her own response, 'In þe tenderest wyse, fadyr, as I kan, /And with all my wyttys fyff.' Meredith, the play's editor, makes no comment about the unusual nature of Mary's response, in which Mary appears to promise to take Joseph as her husband in the most tender manner and with her five senses. Mary does use this expression earlier in the play. When she is brought as a young child to the Temple by Joachim and Anne, Mary prays to God to be allowed, once in her lifetime, to see the lady who would bear God's son, in order that Mary, '[...] may serve here with my wyttys fyve.' (l. 524) Here, Meredith glosses the phrase as a translation of 'oculos, linguam, manus, pedes, genua' (eyes, tongue, hands, feet, knees), from the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a source of *N.town Mary Play*, with the Latin becoming the commonplace Middle English *my wyttys fyve*.³⁶ The phrase appears in chapter III of the *MVC*, which describes Mary's life in the Temple and her

seven prayers to God. Her fifth prayer is to be allowed to see the virgin who will bear God's son and the complete petition reads as follows;

Quinto petebam, ut faceret me videre tempus, in quo esset nata illa beatissima Virgo, quae debebat Filium Dei parere; et ut conservaret oculos meos, ut possem eam videre; linguam, ut possem eam laudare; manus, ut possem ei servire; pedes, ut possem ire ad servitium suum; genua ut possem adorare Dei Filium in gremio suo.³⁷

In using the shorthand for this passage, *my wyttyz fyve*, Mary can be understood by those familiar with the *MVC*, to be promising to serve and honour in the same manner that she wished to honour the mother of God; using her eyes to see, speech to praise, hands to serve, feet to be of service and knees to fall down on in adoration but in the Betrothal section of the *N.town Mary* play, the referent of this is *Joseph himself*. Such devotion towards Joseph on Mary's part might seem somewhat effusive and in comparison with the treatment of Joseph in other cycles, this would seem fair criticism. In the York Pewterers and Founders' pageant *Joseph's Trouble About Mary*, Beadle and King suggest that Joseph's function,

[...] is that of the 'natural man', whose physical decay is an extension of his fallen condition, and with whom the audience can sympathise in his struggle to comprehend the divine mystery of the virgin birth. [...] he is presented by turns as pathetic, comic, and aggressive.³⁸

This same willingness to present Joseph as the comic buffoon who fears himself cuckolded and who fails to understand the Incarnation, can be detected in the *N.town* pageant, the Shearmen and Tailors' *Annunciation*, where we are presented with, ' [...] the picture of an old cuckold [...] [who] radically misunderstands what has happened, and, thinking that Mary has played him false, he turns to the audience for sympathy.'³⁹ The devotion expressed by Mary towards Joseph found in the *N.town Mary Play* is, in fact, perfectly in tune his presentation throughout the play, as a concerned husband who accepts his duty, 'Agens my God not do I may,/here wardeyn and kepere wyl I evyr be.' The existence of two very different

portrayals of Joseph within the same collection (the N. Town pageant and *N.town Mary Play*) attests to two very different traditions of portraying Joseph which have been preserved within the same manuscript. Meredith has succeeded in separating the *Mary Play* from the cycle pageants. His study was not available to Woolf, and this explains the contradiction which she found in the author's portrayal of Joseph who,

[...] on the one hand has chosen to follow the *Protevangelium* [sic] in contemptuously stressing Joseph's old age and extreme reluctance to marry. [...] At the same time he evidently wished to preserve the solemnity of the divinely decreed marriage of Our Lady by showing Joseph to accept her in a reverent and obedient spirit.⁴⁰

The more reverential approach to Joseph was a feature of fifteenth century devotion, about which more will be said later. For those unfamiliar with the *MVC*, in the *N.town Mary Play* Mary could be interpreted as vowing to take Joseph as her husband and to keep their marriage to the best of her ability. I would argue that this is something that the *N.town Play* shows Joseph also trying his hardest to do, in what would become very difficult circumstances, on the discovery of his wife's pregnancy. With both partners promising to work at their marriage roles, the comic cuckold presentation of Joseph would be out of place in this play; as such, the *N.town Mary* playwright rejected it. What is important, is that the inclusion of the vows does not connect Mary and Joseph with a sexual union, in the minds of the audience.

(vi) *The giving of a ring*

After the couple have exchanged their vows, the marriage liturgy indicates that the man give the woman a ring which is blessed. The ring giving is accompanied by verbal exchanges. As in Europe, this gesture is rare in English portrayals of Mary and Joseph's marriage (see *Appendix 1* for European examples and

Appendix 4 for English ones). I have been able to locate only one English visual portrayal of any ring giving; in the Whalley Abbey orphreys.⁴¹ Joseph does give a ring to Mary, however, in the *N.town Mary Play*. Let us begin by considering the liturgical significance of ring-giving. The *Sarum* ring blessing begins as follows :

Then shall the man lay gold, or silver, and a ring upon a dish or book; and the priest shall ask whether the ring have been previously blessed or not; if it be answered not, then shall the priest bless the ring thus :

Priest: The Lord be with you
Congregation: And with thy spirit

Let us pray. O creator and preserver of mankind, giver of spiritual grace, bestower of eternal salvation, do thou, O Lord, send thy blessing ☩ upon this ring, that she who shall wear it may be armed with the strength of heavenly defence, and that it may be profitable unto her eternal salvation. Through etc.
Congregation : Amen.

Let us pray. Bless, O Lord, this ring, which we bless in thy holy name; that whosoever she be that shall wear it, may abide in thy peace, and continue in thy will, and live, and increase, and grow old in thy love; and let the length of her days be multiplied. Through etc.

Then let holy water be sprinkled over the ring.⁴²

Having blessed the ring, the man is required to respond, as Joseph does in *N.town Mary Play*. Once more, comparison between the Marian work and the marriage liturgy for this part of the marriage ceremony is fruitful ;

N.town (ll. 891 - 4)

*Sarum*⁴³

Episcopus
Joseph, with þis ryng now wedde
þi wyff,
And be here hand now þu here
take.

Joseph
Sere, with þis rynge I wedde
And take here now here for my
make.

With this rynge I the wed, and this gold
and silver I the geue, and with my body
all my worldley cathel I the endowe.

The ring is placed on the fourth finger,
with the invocation of the Trinity.

As in the marriage liturgy, Joseph gives Mary a ring as a visual symbol of their marriage. His response accompanying this ritual, however, is merely a shadow of the words of the liturgy. The reason for this is obvious; in the liturgy, the giving of a ring is verbally linked with the giving of the man's body to his wife, and of his goods to her. Whilst the latter would pose little problem for Mary and Joseph (indeed in the apocryphal narratives of their marriage, after the ceremony Joseph returns to his house to bedeck it and make it ready for his bride) the former would be out of place in a chaste union. The inclusion of ring giving in *N.town Mary Play* may be for completeness sake, as of all the Marian works which portray Mary and Joseph's marriage, *N.town Mary Play* alone includes all of the key aspects of a marriage ceremony; marriage *in facie ecclesiae*, by a bishop, before witnesses, consent, exchange of vows, ring-giving and, as we shall see, blessings which normally concluded a marriage ceremony. Although not specifically mentioned, the dynamic nature of drama may have encouraged handfasting also.

(vii) *Blessing the couple*

After the ring-giving the couple were blessed in a complex manner. The number of blessings varied (six in the *York Manual* and eight in the *Sarum*) but generally contained both the Raguel and Lanalet prayers and Psalm 127 (see *Appendix 7*). After this the couple participated in a nuptial mass, concluding with a nuptial blessing during which the couple had traditionally prostrated themselves (as in the *Bury St. Edmunds* liturgy) or been covered by a pall (as in *York* and

Sarum). Where blessing of Mary and Joseph is included, what the audience are given is a flavour of the marriage blessings.

A very early illustration of the blessing of Mary and Joseph's marriage can be seen in the *De Brailes Hours* portrayal of their wedding. Here a bishop on the right of the illustration blesses Mary and Joseph who stand, clasping hands, to the left.

In *Tretys*, after the exchange of vows, the couple fall to their knees to be blessed, 'Buxvmlye boþ þei felle downe / And asked þe bysshoppes benysoun.' (ll. 519 - 20). In *N.town Mary Play*, Mary alone falls to her knees to receive blessing from the bishop, 'To haue þour blyssyng, fadyr, I falle þow before' (l. 914). In both cases, Mary's obedience to and recognition of the power of the Church in the sanctification of marriage is clearly signalled.

The blessing which follows in *Tretys* is clearly evocative of that which was included in the nuptial mass. The *Sarum* rite includes a blessing which contains the following extract :

O God, by whom woman is joined to man, and the union, instituted in the beginning, is gifted with that blessing ☩, which alone has not been taken away either through the punishment of original sin, or through the sentence of the deluge, look graciously we beseech thee, on this thy handmaiden, who now to be joined in wedlock, seeketh to be guarded by thy protection. May the yoke of love and peace be upon her; may she be a faithful and chaste wife in Christ, and abide a follower of holy matrons. *May she be as amiable to her husband as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, long-lived and faithful as Sara.* [...] ⁴⁴ (emphasis my own)

Material very similar to that highlighted in the *Sarum* rite can be found to be behind the blessing in *Tretys* (ll. 521 - 8):

He blessed/ hem boþ wip-uten care
As God blyssed Abraham and Sare.
He blessed hem also wip-uten lacke
As was Rebecca and Ysaac.
He blessed hem wip þe þrydde apele
As Iacob was blyssed and Rachel
In Goddes name þat þei loven mooste,

Fader and sone and Holye Gooste.

The *Tretys* writer includes reference to the same Old Testament wives who were paragons of wifely virtue and who were traditionally mentioned in medieval marriage liturgy.

In the *N.town Mary Play* there is no reference to Sara, Rachel or Rebecca but the bishop does bless Mary, 'In nomine Patris, Filij et Spiritus Sancti' (l. 916), in the name of the Trinity.⁴⁵ The *N.town Mary Play*, through its theatrical medium, is able to give even greater recall of the solemnity of witnessing a marriage, through its use of music and Latin. The betrothal scene is introduced through the singing of *Benedicta sit beata Trinitas* and the ring giving-ceremony celebrated by all those on stage through their participation in *Alma chorus domini nunc pangat nomina summi*. Meredith has identified the first of these two songs as a sequence for masses of the Holy Trinity but suggests that *Sarum* uses a Trinity mass as the nuptial mass.⁴⁶ The second sequence, which consists entirely of the names of God, is used in the nuptial mass in all uses except *York*.⁴⁷

As stated above, none of the Marian works describing her marriage contain all of the facets of the ideal marriage ceremony as promoted by the Church, although the *N.town Mary Play* does get very close to this ideal. Representations of Mary and Joseph's marriage ceremony do illustrate that the couple were married *in facie ecclesiae* and before witnesses in a ceremony, in some written works, whose components recalled the rituals of a contemporary marriage ceremony, the responses of the bride and groom and the blessings which could be bestowed upon them. The celibate nature of Mary and Joseph's marriage meant that any verbal representation of the vows and blessings of the marriage liturgy could be no more than an echo or appear in a greatly truncated form. This judicious pruning, however, would have been unable to mask the apparent fact of Mary and Joseph's

having participated in a medieval marriage ceremony, nor, I believe, was it intended to.

We have considered Mary's marriage at great length and in some detail. Mary and Joseph's marriage was not the only holy marriage, however, to be brought to the public's attention. There is evidence in the later Middle Ages of interest in the marriage of Mary's parents; Joachim and Anne.

Sent anne had a housbonde joachym was hys name
Life of St. Anne (Type C), 1.9

Anne and Joachim's wedding - visual evidence

Representations of Anne and Joachim's actual wedding are rare, most probably because apocryphal narratives commence their story some twenty years after their marriage. More usually, representations of their relationship could include a portrayal of their childlessness (often the refusal of Joachim's offering and / or Anne in her garden), their embrace at the Golden Gate (interpreted as the moment of Immaculate Conception) or Anne in childbed.

I have been able to discover only one pictorial representation of their actual wedding; in the stained glass of Great Malvern Priory Church, Worcestershire, completed in 1485. In the North Nave aisle (bottom row of fourth window, second from the east) one can find all that remains of a series of scenes illustrating Gospel history which originally filled all five windows of the north nave aisle.⁴⁸ The glass is now out of sequence (Joachim and Anne's story comes after Jesus' ministry) but Mary's parents' wedding can still be seen. Hamand describes the window thus,

Joachim, an aged bearded man in a green cap and blue mantel over a red tunic, both edged with ermine and girt by a gold belt, stands facing Anne in white turban and veil, white and gold brocade mantle over a red ermine-lined dress. Facing them, the bearded priest, vested in mitre and blue cope with jewelled orphrys, joins their hands. Behind the bridegroom stands a young man in green turban and pink and blue robes; while behind Anne is a woman in a white turban and veil, dressed in pale blue and red.⁴⁹

What one observes is that Anne and Joachim are shown to participate in a wedding ceremony that replicates the Church's ideal and which would have been familiar to the window's contemporaries; a priest performs the marriage, there is handfasting and witnesses are present.

Written discussion of Anne and Joachim's marriage

(i) Suitability as parents of the Virgin

With regard to the written word, in those works where Mary is the primary focus, there is generally no mention of Anne and Joachim's wedding ceremony as it is too far chronologically from Mary's conception and birth, the events with which Mary's *vita* usually commences. Marian works tend rather to emphasise Anne and Joachim's righteousness and therefore suitability to be the parents of Mary. One reads such comments as Joachim and Anne, 'vseden chaast wedlok [were sexually faithful] (*LOL*, section 2, ll. 3) and that they lived happily together,

To wif he [Joachim] has dame anna tan,
Was suilk a cuple neuer nan,
Sua sammertale [unity, including sexual intercourse], wit-vten strijf,
Tuix ani spused and his wif [...]
(*Cursor*, Cotton MS, ll. 10167 - 70)

(ii) Anne and Joachim a perfect match

Where Anne herself is the focus of the devotional work, one may learn a little more. The *Life of Anne (Type A)* informs the audience that,

[...] did hym [Joachim] haue a wyfe
When he was xx^{ti} ger.
Anna þan says þe boke scho hight;
Scho was one of þe fayrest wyght
þat þan lyued ffer or ner.
Agar doghter was þat virgyn;

Comen scho was of dauid kyn;
þerfore þai made gude chere.
At þe mariage was gret gamen.
Withouten childer þai leued sam
All fully xx^{ti} gere.
(ll. 50 - 60)

Anne was the beautiful daughter of Agar and of David's kin, married Joachim when he was twenty-two, there was great fun at their wedding and they remained childless for twenty-two years. *The Life of Anne (Type B)* informs the reader/listener that Anne and Joachim '[...] were both oon flesshe ioynyd parfytely [...] ioynyd togeder lawfully / in the nobyll cyte of galyle' (ll. 258, 311 - 2). That Anne and Joachim were lawfully married is never in doubt. One learns also by their example that they were sexually faithful to one another, 'oon flesshe ioynyd parfytely.' Their childlessness is not grounds to end the marriage. This would have been the case had either been incapable of coitus. If one recalls William of Shoreham's instruction,

And þaz þe weddyng were maked
 Ase hyt mytte by lawe,
 Get hyt myghte eft be ondond eft al-so to-drawe.
 Wet wyse ?
 Zef þer ne mey flesches seuyse.
 þet hys, zef þat ere þe weddyng
 Folle pat ylke lette [...]
 (*De Matrimonio*, stanzas 280 and 281)

Anne and Joachim are to be understood to have lived together as a sexually active husband and wife but who remained childless, as many medieval couples may have done. Osbern Bokenham's *Life of St. Anne* states that Anne and Joachim married properly according to their laws, although he is unsure of all the details;

And whan she to 3eris of dyscrecescyon
was comyn, after ther lawes guyse,
Not ouer yonge after myn estymacyon,
But what yer of age I ne can deuyse,
Wedded sche was in ful solnne wyse
Into a cuntre clepyd galyle
And to a man a-cordyng to hyr degre,

I mene to ioachym, in the cyte
 Off nazareth dwellynge & of dauid hows,
 A ryche man & of gret dignyte,
 Whos lyf of youthe was euer vertuous,
 Symple, ryhtfulle & eke petous,
 Afor god & man ryht comendable,
 To whom Anne was wyf ful conuenable [extremely well suited],
 For after the doctryne of philosophye
 [In] ihesus syrach [Jesus Sirach], whoso it rede can,
 Lyche to lyche euer doth applie [...] *
 So vertu to vertu is agreable;
 Wherefore anne to ioachym was wyf ful able. (ll. 1623 - 1643)

* a reference to Ecclesiastes 13 : 15 - 16, ' Every beast loveth his like, and every man loveth his neighbour. All flesh consorteth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like.'

Bokenham stresses the suitability of Anne and Joachim as marriage partners; their personalities and social rank complement each other. The union of the two families is celebrated by a ceremonious wedding. These paragraphs are surely a thinly veiled compliment to the union of Bokenham's benefactors, John and Katherine Denston. Both Katherine and John belonged to wealthy and politically influential East Anglian families and therefore their 'match' would have been appropriate. Katherine was the half-sister of John Clopton wealthy clothier, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk between 1452 and 1453 and head of the Clopton clan of Long Melford in Suffolk. We will return to these families in the following chapter.

(iii) Anne's multiple marriages

We have already met the phenomenon of Anne's three marriages. Bokenham does not include information concerning Anne's three marriages in her life commissioned by Katherine Denston but tells us that he is going to include some of this material in a 'Latin ballad-rhyme'. Unfortunately this text has been lost. Anne's marital history is identified in detail, however, in the *Life of Anne* (Type C), ll. 29 - 56 , as a preface to the story of Joachim and Anne. There is little attempt to disguise the fact of Anne's multiple marriages, indeed, the complexity

of multiple marriage and the wide kinship group which results from it is celebrated from the start of the poem,

Souerynys and serys zyf it be zour wylle
 To here and to lere of thyng *that is good*
 ffro tryflys and talys kepe zour tonggs styлле
 and here go this matere with a mylde mood
 ffor go schull here þe story þat is of seynt anne
 the modyr of oure lady blyssyd mote sche bene
 and of þe housbondes that sche had man aftyr manne
 and of hre dere dowterys and here chylderyn bedene [...]
Life of Anne (Type C), ll. 1 - 8 (emphasis my own)

As we have already seen, these details appear also in a Marian life, that contained within Bodley 578. On f. 1r Jerome is credited as the source of the information, which appears as a preface to the conception of Mary. It is the only life of Mary which I have discovered to contain these details.

Anne's marital history appears also in the margin of f. 37r, below the text on the final page of pageant 7 of the N.town pageants.⁵⁰ What is present in the manuscript is clearly an attempt to construct a family tree without drawing it out. The genealogy is in Latin and the pageants' editor, Block, transcribes the information as follows;

Barpanter }
 Asmeria } genuit Joachym

Ysakar }
 Nasaphat } gen. Anna

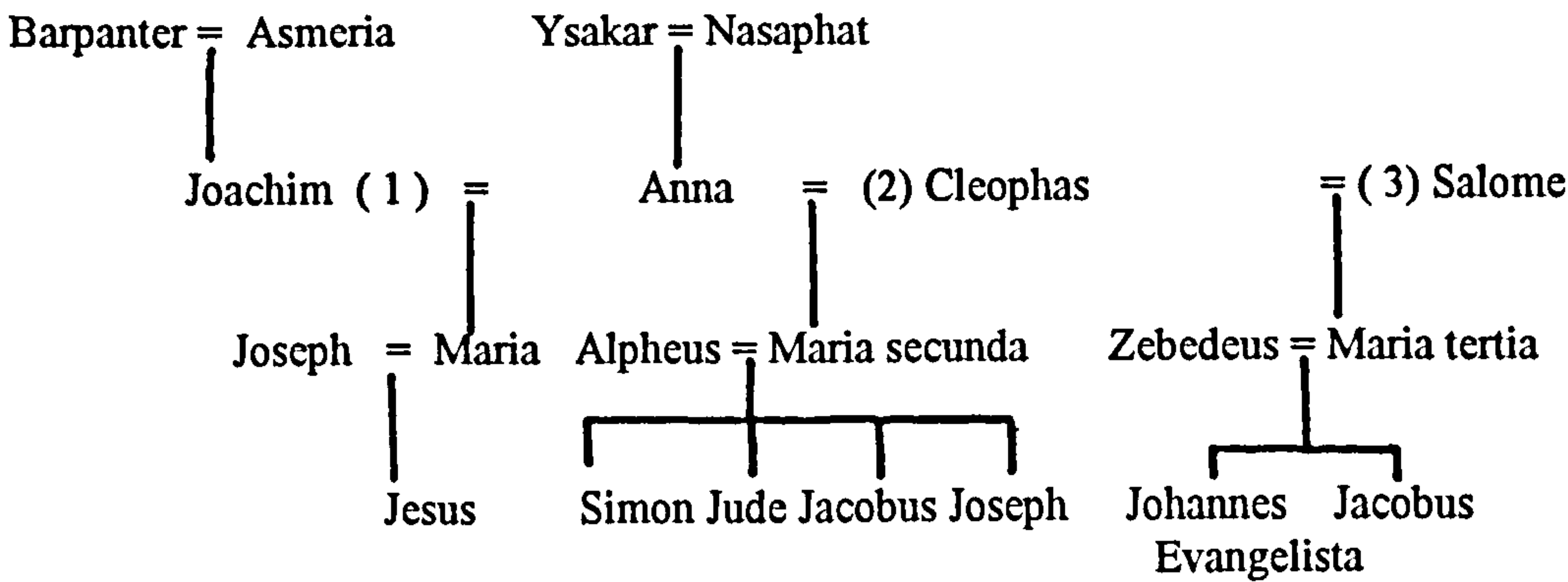
Joachym } sponsa Joseph fabro
 Anna } gen. Maria mater ihesu Christi

Cleophas et } sponsa Alpheo
 Anna } gen. ij [secunda] Maria mater Symonem et Judam Jacobum minorem et Joseph just[um]

Salome et } sponsa Zebedeo
 Anna } gen. iij [tertia] Maria mater Johannem euangelistam et Jacobum majorem.

Emeria fuit soror Anne que habebat quondam filiam Elizabeth que nupta
 fui[t] Zakarie de quo peperit Johanne[m] baptistem precursorem domini
 Elyud. Emine filia. beatus Geruasius episcopus.

The table illustrates Anne's family tree which may be more conventionally
 illustrated thus :



The table is clearly similar to that in the *Legenda Aurea* except, as has been noted
 by Meredith and others, N-Town refers erroneously to St. Geruasius rather than St.
 Servatius (Bishop of Maastricht, Tongeren and Liège, fourth century), an error
 replicated in Robert Reynes *Boke*.⁵¹ This error, for Meredith, provides the play
 with a Norfolk provenance.⁵²

How this genealogical material as it appears in N. Town was meant to be used
 remains unclear; was it to be read aloud before the *N.town Mary play* (and if so,
 was it by Contemplacio ?), or merely there as information or a scribal addition that
 was never part of either the pageants or the *Mary play*? It is evidence, however, of
 an interest in Anne and of knowledge of her three marriages at some point in the
 history of the N. Town pageants.

Conclusions

To sum up : during the central Middle Ages, the faithful understood Mary and Joseph , Anne and Joachim to have been husband and wife in a contemporary way. The formation of Mary and Joseph's marriage was, like those in the medieval period, based on mutual consent and containing the three goods of marriage as defined by St. Augustine. In terms of the celebration of their marriage, Mary and Joseph and Anne and Joachim were shown to have replicated the medieval church ceremony, performed by a priest before witnesses. In some examples Mary and Joseph repeat echoes of the actual vows of the medieval marriage liturgy. In terms of Anne's multiple marriages, Anne can be seen as having the same experience of many medieval men and women, especially the latter, whose first spouse predeceased them.

Chapter 4 : Notes

1. P. Schine Gold 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-Century Ideology of Marriage,' in Bullough and Brundage, 102 - 117.
2. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 103.
3. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 103.
4. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 104.
5. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 104.
6. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 106.
7. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 106.
8. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 106.
9. The *Beate Mariae* was written as an attack against those who doubted Mary's perpetual virginity. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 107, note 9.
10. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 107.
11. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 110, note 22.
12. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 111.
13. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 111.
14. Indeed, this concern about completeness is raised by a number of the friars of whom Ricardus de Mediavilla (Richard of Middleton, fourteenth century) is one:
Secundo queritur utrum inter Mariam et Joseph fuerit perfectum matrimonium [...] Respondeo quod perfectio rei duplex est: quedam in esse primo, quedam in esse secundo. Prima in hoc consistit quod res habet omnia que pertinent ad eius essentiam. Secunda consistit in quibusdam perfectionibus non pertinentibus ad essentiam. Primo modo fuit perfectum inter Mariam et Ioseph , non secundo, quia non ita perfecte [perfecta edn.] significauit indiuisibilem unionem Christi et ecclesie et humane nature cum diuina persona sicut matrimonium consummatum. Here

Richard of Middleton is arguing that Mary and Joseph's marriage should be regarded as imperfect in a secondary sense because it less perfectly signified the union of Christ and the Church. This extract was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. D' Avrey.

15. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 112.
16. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 113.
17. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 114.
18. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 114.
19. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary,' p. 115.
20. Wright, ed., *The Book of the Knight*, fol. 48, col. 1.
21. Mary's age at which she married is also worthy of note; twelve in *Protevangelion* and *Pseudo-Matthew (A)* but at fourteen in the *Pseudo-Matthew (B)* and *Evangelium*. Whether 12 or 14, Mary would have been understood to have married at an age permitted for women, as determined by the Fourth Lateran Council. Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council can be found in Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*.
22. Boswell, *Marriage of Likeness*, p. 14.
23. Boswell, *Marriage of Likeness*, p. 15.
24. H. Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, p. 12.
25. Boswell, *Marriage of Likeness*, p. 12.
26. Boswell, *Marriage of Likeness*, p. 12.
27. R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London : for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1965, reprint 1983), p. 142.
28. R. E. Lewis, ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1994), see entry for 'marien.'
29. O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 73.
30. O' Carroll, *Theotokos*, p. 73
31. This information appears in in volume I, f. 129r, column 2, ll. 9 - 16 and 33 - 40.
32. Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 85.
33. Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 85.
34. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 104, note 883.
35. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 104, note 883.
36. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 98, note 524.
37. Peltier, *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, p. 513.
38. Beadle and King, *York Mystery Plays*, p. 48.
39. P. Happé, *English Mystery Plays : A Selection*, p. 221.
40. R. Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1975, reprint 1979), p. 163.
41. My thanks to Dr. Jane Stevenson for bringing these embroideries to my attention.
42. Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 86.
43. Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 86.
44. Amt, *Women's Lives*, p. 88.
45. Leonard states that for the first time in 1455, the priestly joining formula, 'Ego vos conjugo in matrimonium, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti,' appeared in a ritual from Rouen bringing to a climax the Church's involvement in marriage in the West, Leonard, 'Rites of Marriage,' p. 192. The inclusion of this Latin formula could assist in locating the *N.Town Mary Play* as a production of the second half of the fifteenth century.
46. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 103, note 847.
47. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 104, note 905.
48. Hamand, *Ancient Windows*, p. 86.
49. Hamand, *Ancient Windows*, p. 90.

⁵⁰. K. S. Bloch, ed., *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi* (London : Humphrey Milford, 1922), p. 62.

⁵¹. S. Spector, ed., *The N-Town Play. Cotton MS Vespasian D. 8. Vol. II. Commentary and Appendices*, EETS SS 12 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 435-6, note 7.

⁵². Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 11.

Chapter Five

The Representation of Mary and Anne as wives; Marital Exemplar in the Central Middle Ages

Our examination of how representations of Mary and Anne as wives during the period 1200 - 1540 fitted in with social practice, leads us to a number of conclusions;

- (i) The medieval faithful understood Mary and Anne to have been married women.
- (ii) The consensualists, whose marital doctrine was that which was taken up by the Church, agreed that Mary and Joseph's marriage had been founded on freely given consent - a condition which applied to all marriages.
- (iii) Mary and Joseph's marriage, like all medieval marriages, contained the sacrament of marriage although in Mary and Joseph's case their union contained the sacrament *in some form* and this was a matter for dispute.
- (iv) Mary and Joseph's marriage, like all full and licit marriages, was complete because it contained all three goods of marriage; *fides, proles* and *sacramentum*.
- (v) Representations (in a variety of media) of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies commonly portrayed them as taking place in a church/at the church door, at which a celebrant officiated and in the presence of witnesses (men behind Joseph/ Joachim and women behind Mary/Anne; sometimes Anne is present at her daughter's wedding).

Now we must consider what it is that the writers, embroiderers, painters, glaziers and manuscript illuminators thought they were doing when they represented Mary and Anne as wives, or, put another way, why was there the motivation in this particular historical period, to represent Mary and Anne as wives ?

As we have seen, sexuality would not be confined within the bonds of holy matrimony, nor indeed was matrimony itself necessarily holy in the sense of performed by a priest *in facie ecclesiae*. The older secular mores, which regarded marriage as a private arrangement contracted between two individuals was still popular, providing the ecclesiastical courts with many clandestine marriages to

ratify. Evidence from the ecclesiastical courts demonstrates that throughout the central Middle Ages, there was a disjunction between the ecclesiastical ideal of marriage and its celebration, and the unions actually formed by the laity. If it was to encourage the replication of its ideal of marriage formation, celebration and practice, the Church required a *marital exemplar* which could serve as an *aide mémoire* with which to instruct the faithful. As we shall see, some churchmen looked to the image of Mary as a wife. Already a powerful symbol and subject of much lay devotion, from the thirteenth century onwards the image of Mary was used by some to accrete yet another symbolic layer; that of *marital exemplar*. In order to examine and support this assertion, we need to now discuss briefly the concept of memory as it was understood in the Middle Ages, to demonstrate how these images could be used as *aides mémoire* and then to consider exactly what Mary as a marital exemplar was mnemotechnic of.

The Stimulation of Memory in Medieval England : *loci* and *imagines*

The culture between 1200 - 1540 can be designated as memorial : even as literacy spread society relied on individual and collective memory in order that it might function. It is clear, as will be demonstrated, that the medieval Church employed mnemotechnics in various ways. In her study of memory, Mary Carruthers has demonstrated that an interest in memory and in memory training techniques preoccupied some scholars throughout the Middle Ages.

Medieval theories of memory and practical aids to better one's memory (*ars memorativa*) did not develop in a vacuum but were firmly anchored in models for memory training developed by, amongst others, Aristotle, Plato and Socrates.¹ In Antiquity, memory training was necessary as an adjunct of the art of rhetoric and speech making/delivery. By the time we reach the Middle Ages, the most

significant use of the art of memory was in the context of acts of worship and devotional practice. The medieval appropriation of the *ars memorativa* differed from its classical precedents, however, in that medieval *ars memorativa* held, in addition to a mnemonic use, a Christian ethical purpose also.² Thomas Aquinas thought that memory could be used for one's spiritual betterment but that humanity was hampered in its ability to remember spiritual things so it required memory images to help:

[...] we remember less easily those things which are of subtle and spiritual import; and we remember more easily those things which are gross and sensible. And if we wish to remember intelligible notions more easily, we should link them with some kind of phantasms [images] as Tullius [Cicero] teaches in his Rhetoric.³

As signalled by both Albertus and Aquinas, by the thirteenth century a change had taken place in the purpose of memory images, as observed by Yates,

The images chosen for their memorable quality in the Roman orator's art have been changed by medieval piety into 'corporeal similitudes' of 'subtle and spiritual intentions'.⁴

Advice for medieval scholars concerning memory training is to be found in works such as that by an Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1349), Thomas Bradwardine's *De Memoria Artificiali*, written c. 1333.⁵ For scholars wishing to improve their memories, Bradwardine instructed that they needed to be aware of the importance and function of two aspects of memory training; *loci* and *imagines*;

For trained memory, two things are necessary, that is, firm locations and also images for the material [...]

Truly a location's configuration should be like a four-sided oblong. Concerning its characteristics, four things are known, to wit, that the places should not be made so dark that they cannot be taken easily nor readily from memory, nor with great brightness, for they will impede the perception of inscribed images. Secondly it is known that the places should not be formed in a crowded place, such as a church, the market etc., [sic] because the crowding into one place of content-images which frequently occur in memory will crowd out other content images. But they should be formed in regions that are deserted and empty. Thirdly, it is known that it helps a lot that the places should be real rather than mostly imagined or made-up, for real places one can frequently inspect, and thus through repetition shape and firm-up an habitual knowledge of them. [...]

Now we go on to the images [to evoke memory], where four considerations occur, that is size, quality, order and number. Their size should be average [...] Their quality truly should be wondrous and intense, because such things are impressed in memory more deeply and are better retained. However such things are for the most part not average but extremes, as the most beautiful or ugly, joyous or sad, worthy of respect or something ridiculous for mocking [...] The whole image also should have some other detail or movement, that this more effectively than through what is routine or at rest, they may commend to memory.⁶

Frances Yates' explanation of how memory was trained via the use of places and images (sometimes called the architectural method) remains worth quoting for its clarity, and serves as a summary of Bradwardine's instruction,

The artificial memory is established from places and images [...], the stock definition to be repeated down the ages. A *locus* is a place easily grasped by the memory, such as a house, an inter columnar space, a corner, an arch, or the like. Images are forms, marks, simulacra [...] of what we wish to remember. For instance if we wish to recall the genus of a horse, of a lion, of an eagle, we must place their images on definite loci.⁷

As the quotations from Bradwardine illustrate, rules governed the selection of useful *loci* and *images* which would function effectively as *aides mémoires*. According to Bradwardine (borrowing heavily from his classical antecedents⁸) *loci* should be light enough to recall but not bright enough to dazzle the *imago* contained within, not crowded, familiar and real. The image contained within each locus should be of average size, of a truly wondrous quality illustrating the extreme of something and should include some detail or movement because all of these features help the memory to recall the *imago*. Bradwardine suggests that an image will be better recalled if it arouses an emotional response through being striking and unusual.

A change to which the *ars memorativa* had to adapt in the Middle Ages was to the development of a more bookish culture. Hugh of St. Victor, instructing some students on how to remember, explained the mnemonic utility of page layout and decoration,

[...] it is a great value for fixing a memory-image that when we read books, we study to impress on our memory [...] the colour, shape, position and placement of the letters [...] in what location

(at the top, the middle or bottom) we saw [something] positioned [...] in what color [sic] we observed the trace of the letter or the ornamented surface of the parchment. Indeed I consider nothing so useful for stimulating memory as this.⁹

Much has been written on the purpose of 'the ornamented surface of parchment', that is, concerning the importance of pictures in medieval culture.¹⁰ Mary Carruthers has explored the relationship of visual images and the art of memory. Carruthers takes as one of her starting points the letter which Pope Gregory the Great wrote to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles in 600, when the bishop was concerned that his flock had fallen into idolatry of images,

It is one thing to worship a picture, it is another by means of pictures to learn thoroughly the story that should be venerated. For what writing makes present to those reading, the same pictures make present to the uneducated, to those perceiving visually, because in it the ignorant see what they ought to follow, in it they read who do not know better. Wherefore, and especially for the common people, picturing is the equivalent of reading.¹¹

Carruthers explicates Gregory's letter as demonstrating that picturing (that is, reading pictures) has as its goal the learning of a story (that should be venerated) in order to familiarise and domesticate that narrative. Carruthers concludes that pictures in medieval culture are signs not primarily by virtue of imitating an object but by recalling something that is passed to memory.¹²

Medieval philosophy and pedagogical practice thus provided those who sought to promote or aid memory in themselves or others with a number of dicta; (i) the act of memory could be stimulated by images placed in places, (ii) places had to be bright, uncluttered and real, the images unusual, wonderful and involve some movement, (iii) the recollection of a memory image associated with virtue could involve spiritual benefits and (iv) that memory images can be used not necessarily mimetically but to recall the story within the written word. Although many of the creators of the representations of the Holy marriages would not have been skilled in the art of rhetoric whence these rules derived, they were living and

working in a culture in which many depended on the act of memory for many aspects of their social intercourse, including their religious practice.¹³ *Aides mémoire* were a real and significant presence. Bearing in mind these dicta, we must now examine the surviving representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies and as wives to ascertain whether or not they could have served as mnemotechnics. Let us begin with the actual ceremonies.

Representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies: their suitability as *aide mémoire*

To remember a wedding you hold in mind a girl veiled with a wedding veil.
Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, early 5th c.

Representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies appeared in those centuries in which scholars expressed an interest in the *ars memorativa*. Can we be confident that representations of their wedding ceremonies functioned as *aides mémoire* for the laity in this period and if so, to recall what? And what of the written portrayals of the holy marriages? Did they fit into a possible mnemonic schema and if so, how?

Some time ago Frances Yates warned against confusing art proper and art for mnemonic purposes but conceded that there must have been some overlap for two reasons; (i) when people were taught to practice the formation of *imagines* for remembering it is possible that these inner images found their way into outer expression and (ii) Christian instructive art taught through images and so it is possible that the places and images of this art may have become 'artificial memory.'¹⁴

It is possible that the representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies could have arisen either out of someone's inner memory images or, as with other Christian art, became artificial memory. Arising from whichever pathway, if the

representations of Mary and Anne were designed to function memorially, this should be detectable in their composition and location.

(I) *Pictorial Representations of Mary and Anne's Wedding Ceremony as Imagines*

As we have seen, Thomas Bradwardine gave detailed instructions to his contemporaries concerning the selection and construction of effective memory images and the loci in which they should be sited; the image should be truly wondrous and intense, should represent the extreme of something and should include some detail or movement. It will be better recalled if, through its unusualness, it encourages some emotional response in the recaller. The loci should be well-lit but not dazzling, not overcrowded, real and well-known to the recaller. The pictorial representations of Mary and Anne's marriages discussed in previous chapters obey Bradwardine's rules of *imagine* perfectly and, as we shall see, occur in locations which encourage their committing to memory.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the representations of Mary and Joseph's marriage ceremony in the *De Brailles Hours*, *Egerton Hours*, *Bedford Hours*, the Croughton Wall painting and the betrothal window in St. Mary's Fairford have elements in common. They all contain the following: a ceremony presided over by a celebrant before witnesses, with Mary and Joseph shown at the moment of hand fasting. The Malvern Priory glass depicting Anne's wedding contains the same configuration. These elements would have met with Bradwardine's approval as an effective memory image; the sight of the Virgin Mary being married is truly wondrous, its portrayal could be and often was intense (many of the representors have captured the couples' emotions), the image represents the extreme of something (because it shows the best of all women) and it includes some movement to aid memory (the moment of hand

fasting or as in the *Salvin Hours*, the moment of the priest blessing the couple). The same may be said of the image of Anne marrying. In terms of their composition, images of Mary and Joseph's wedding ceremony and that of St. Anne, could have functioned as effective *aide mémoire* or memory images.

Further evidence of the suitability of representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremony as memory *imagines* is to be found in the locations in which these images were placed. The wall-painting at Croughton, the stained glass windows at Fairford and Malvern Priory and the Whalley Abbey vestments either exist in a church setting or were created to be used in a church. The church is a locus about which Carruthers (revising the opinion of Mâle) has observed,

Mâle was not wrong in saying that the cathedral was a form of literature, only in his understanding of what the statement meant to a culture that did not share the bias ingrained in our notion of representational realism. For that is a non-medieval bias. *Representation*, as we have seen, was understood not in an objective or reproductive sense as often in a temporal one: signs make something present to the mind by acting on memory.¹⁵

The representation of Mary and Anne's weddings in window, wall and church vestment are placed within a locale traditionally associated with the act of memory. This association is two-fold; not only was the church an external place associated with the act of memory but could be used, albeit with caution, as an internal, architectural memory *locus* in which to hang one's memory *imagines*. A church could function as an internal memory *locus*; it could be appropriately light enough, real and well-known to the recaller (all of which Bradwardine argues make the *locus* effective). Bradwardine does warn against using a church in this way because it could be a place already too crowded with images. Whilst sound advice against the use of cathedrals, the limited contents of smaller parish churches in this period would not create the same problem.

One further piece of evidence that the representations of Mary and Anne's marriages discussed functioned as *aide mémoire* is their place in a sequence; a pattern designed to encourage recollection. The Croughton representation of Mary's marriage is one of a sequence of twenty-two (originally twenty-five) episodes relating the life of the Virgin, located on the south wall of the church.¹⁶ The north wall depicts the life of Christ, about which Tristram and James conjecture that the original scheme extended to the decoration of the whole church.¹⁷ The Betrothal window at Fairford is one which belongs to a complex iconographical schema, as described by Wayment,

The windows can be divided into three groups. The whole of the east end of the church [...] is devoted to the Life of Christ, culminating in the Crucifixion in the east window itself ; a typological window in the north aisle [...] serves as a prelude to this section. The second group consists of eight windows devoted to the exponents of the faith, the Prophets and Apostles, Evangelists and Doctors [...] The third group consists of the Last Judgement [...] The scheme emphasises the Virgin's key importance as the vessel of the Incarnation and, in accordance with the medieval revision and amplification of the Bible story, shows her as a participant in almost every scene of the drama [...]¹⁸

Although the glass in Malvern Priory has been relocated within the church, it is certain that the representation of Anne's marriage (since 1919 to be found in the bottom row of the fourth window of the north nave aisle) was part of a series of scenes illustrating Gospel history.¹⁹ It is apparent from these examples that the representations of Mary's and Anne's marriages were part of an iconographical schema, arranged to encourage the committing to memory of Biblical history and the part which Mary played in God's salvific schema.

Those representations of Mary and Joseph's marriage which appear in *Books of Hours* are also contained within a memorial schema. If we recall, Hugh of St. Victor commented on the mnemonic utility found within the page layout and decoration of a codex. Carruthers has gone as far as to claim that, '[...] the requirements of mnemonic technique may have specifically influenced the

decoration of medieval books.'²⁰ The representation of Mary and Joseph's marriage which appears in the *Bedford Hours* (f. 32) is situated within a full-page illumination. With regard to full-page drawings, Carruthers has noted,

Indeed, it is a much remarked medieval characteristic to treat the space in a fullpage drawing diagrammatically, that is, with images placed in specific locations, often grouped about a large, central figure, often an architectural setting, often with related images enclosed in roundels or other geometric forms, usually with a border, and commonly with inscriptions, like *tituli* or rubrics, to be associated with the figure and to help associate the figures with one another. The justification for this practice is mnemonic necessity. The framework for the page provides an orderly set of *loci* ; furthermore, this frame remains constant while the images in it change from page to page - that is the manner of a diagram, and it is also the manner of a page of memory [internal] *imagines rerum* imposed upon a set of *places* in an orderly framework or grid.²¹

What one sees in the *Bedford Hours*, f. 32, is a representation of Mary and Joseph's marriage occurring as one of eleven miniatures, each in an architectural setting, grouped around a larger, central illustration of the Annunciation. The eleven miniatures relate the story of Joachim and Anne and Mary and Joseph up until the Annunciation which is the focus of the fullpage. The Annunciation alone is accompanied by a text, 'Domine labia mea aperies et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.' (Psalm 50, 17) On folios 54b, 65, 70b and 275b., for example, one may see the basic frame design replicating itself. Sometimes the miniatures are contained within roundels, particularly it seems if they contain something happening out in the open.

On folio 275b one sees portrayed in the central image the donor, Anne Duchess of Bedford, at prayer before St. Anne, beside whom stands Mary who is depicted as a pre-pubescent young girl and beside her is Christ shown as a toddler. Saint Anne is reading a book, as is Anne of Burgundy, and the Duchess's is open at the page 'Domine labia mea aperies et os meum [...]', which is, as we have seen, line seventeen from Psalm 50 and which was used earlier in the Book to accompany the Annunciation. This main image is surrounded by miniatures of

each of Anne's three husbands, and of her two other daughters with their husbands, each contained within an architectural setting. Whether employing roundel or architectural setting, the frame provides a set of orderly *loci* for *imagines rerum* to be contained within.

The representation of Mary and Joseph's marriage in the *Salvin Hours* and the *De Brailles Hours* are both overlaid on illustrated initials: **D** in the former and **S** in the latter. It can be argued that the illuminated initial is used in both Books to draw the reader's / viewer's attention to or cue the important sections of text and that it serves to trigger memory and may even act as an internal memory image. The *Egerton Hours* operates somewhat differently. Here the representation of Mary and Joseph's marriage occurs in an illustration occupying a third of a page and is accompanied by a caption. The illustration shows Mary and Joseph handfasting before a bishop and witnesses and if we recall the inscription;

Aue [e]t gaude uirgo maria
que cum iusto ioseph coniu/
ge [e]t custode per angelum tibi
deputato habitare concordit[ur]
voluista [sic] Ave maria.

Here both image and word can serve to stimulate the memory of Mary and Joseph's marriage.

Our final observation concerning the representations of the terms of Mary and Joseph's marriage in Books of Hours is that, like their counterparts contained within the fabric of churches, these representations could function effectively as *imagines rerum* and that they too are contained within a location which is in itself deliberately constructed to evoke memory. The genre of *Books of Hours*, with its subdivisions linked with the canonical hours of the day, was deliberately constructed as an *aide mémoire*.

(ii) *Written Representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremony : Memory images also ?*

So far, we have confined our examination to the pictorial representations of the holy marriages in light of the rules which governed the construction of memory images for things (*res*). As we have seen, representations of Mary's marriage ceremony were also constructed verbally, in *Tretys*, the *N.town Mary Play* and in Lydgate's *LOL*. Can these written images be proven to have been constructed for memorial use ? Let us revisit *Tretys* and *LOL* and recall the words on the page which describe Mary and Joseph's marriage :

Tretys (ll. 505 - 520)

He [the bishop] seyde he wold wip-/oute lettyng
Make an ende of weddyng.
'Ioseph,' he seyde, 'putte forþe þi honde
In Goddes name þat worschyped þi wonde
And seye to Marye wip-uten stryfe :
'I take þe here, Marye, for my wyfe,
Wip þee to lyve wip-uten synne
Tylle deþe departe vs boþe a-twynne.'
Putte forþe þi/honde, mayden Marye,
And seye to Ioseph to my housbonde
Trewelye to love and serve þe mooste
In worsshippe wip þe grace of þe Holye Gooste.'
Buxvmlie boþ þei felle downe
And asked þe bysshopes benysoun.
What follows are blessings on the couple.

N. Town (ll. 882 - 90)

Episcopus (et idem Joseph)
Sey þan after me : Here I take þe, Mary, to wyff
[...]
To hauyn, to holden [...] as God his wyll with us
wyll make [...]
And as longe as bethwen us [...] lestyght oure lyff
[...]
To loue ȝow as myselff [...] my trewth I ȝow take.
(*nunc ad Mariam, sic dicens*)
Mary, wole ȝe haue þis man
And hym to kepyn as ȝour lyff ?
Maria
In tenderest wyse, fadyr, as I kan [...]

LOL (ll. 764 - 8)

And as the custume, of the lawe theym bonde
So made was tho, the confirmacion
By hest of wedlock be twene theym hande by
hande
And he hir toke, to his possession.

The words of both *Tretys* and *LOL* construct a memory image in the reader's / listener's mind's eye : one hears/ reads and then constructs an image of Mary and Joseph handfasting before a bishop (as in *Tretys*) or a priest (as in *LOL*), and witnesses in a sacred building. The words of the *N.town Mary Play* create the same image ; Mary and Joseph before a bishop and witnesses in a sacred location and, as suggested earlier (*Chapter Four*) probably handfasting. The *N.town Mary Play* includes also ring giving. It is possible that the reader/hearer substituted their own local church as the memorial *locus* for this image. That this was intended is certainly suggested by the illustration which accompanies this section of text of Lydgate's *LOL* in Oxford, MS Bodley 596, f. 96 (third quarter of the fifteenth century - see *figure 4*, p.101). Although the verse narrative locates the ceremony in the *temple*, the manuscript illustrator has chosen to depict Mary, Joseph and the bishop standing in front of the door, beneath the rose window of an English parish church. As with the pictorial illustrations in the *Books of Hours*, the written portrayals satisfy Bradwardine's advice for an effective memory-image. One might argue that the *N.town Mary Play* impressed the image of Mary and Joseph's *proper* wedding ceremony still further through its dramatic medium; the ceremony, looking for all the world like the ideal contemporary wedding, was played out before the audience in the playing space (itself a useful memory *locus*), with neighbours taking the starring roles. Who could forget the manner in which Mary and Joseph had married?²²

A second memorial function can be identified in *Tretys* and is one which it shares with the *N. Town Mary Play*. As we have noted, both *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play* have verbal echoes of the male and female responses of the contemporary marriage service, albeit with some alteration, particularly in what

Mary can actually vow. Meredith has argued that the words used in the play marriage are sufficiently similar to the Sarum rite, '[...] to have the ring of truth and reality'²³ and that it was unlikely that a medieval audience would have been equipped to have recalled the Latin words of the marriage liturgy. This same ring of truth may be said of the vows as they appear in *Tretys*. That the verbal echoes only provided the *ring of* the actual service is not contrary to the techniques for the memory of words, as recommended during the central Middle Ages.

Carruthers notes that there existed alongside techniques to encourage memory for things, what she calls 'memory for words' which '[...] also involved constructing images, but seriatim, following the exact phrasing of the original.'²⁴ Paraphrasing the fourth century rhetorician Fortunatianus, Carruthers informs how one should proceed to remember words if one's memory is poor or if the time for memorising the words is short,

Should we always learn word-for-word ("ad verbum") ? Only if time permits; but if it does not we should retain only the matter, the gist ("res"), and suit our own words to it later, according to the occasion. [...] If your memory is poor or time is short, do not tie yourself down by trying to speak word-for-word from memory, for if you should forget even one word in a series it will lead to an awkward pause or to silence. So it is best to remember *res* rather than *verba* as occasion demands

(" *de tempore* ") and not run the risk of needing prompting or forgetting altogether.²⁵

What one observes from Carruthers' paraphrase of Fortunatianus is that exact memory-for-words was a skill of the most highly trained memory and if one was incapable of this, recall of the subject matter of the words is better than a futile attempt at memory of words verbatim. Bradwardine is instructive, once more, concerning the memory of words and specifically quotations, such as one might term the wedding vows as identified above. He recommends the following technique,

If you need to recall a certain quotation which may be associated by you with a content-image [rem ymaginabilem] place for yourself the image for that content [rei illius ymaginem] instead of using this other memory technique for a saying.* And if an image of content already known to you may occur which would also serve the quotation you propose to remember, the name for the content is selected whose name in two or more syllables is concordant with the quotation.²⁶

* Here Bradwardine means the technique of creating images with which to recall each syllable of the word/words being committed to memory.

That the writers of *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play* did not reproduce the Sarum marriage vows verbatim was not necessarily due to poor training/memory. As we have seen, a large portion of the marriage vows were inappropriate for Mary to have voiced. What we appear to have in these works is quotation, moulded by artistic licence and deference to the Virgin Mary, which preserves the *res* of the vows, particularly of the man's responses; the instance of consenting to take one as one's spouse, to promise to live faithfully together until separated by death and to love one another, even though the *verba* are somewhat changed. This is not contrary to the instruction for the memory for words.

The above consideration of whether or not pictorial and written images of Mary and Joseph's marriage ceremony (and the solitary image of Anne's wedding at Malvern) functioned memorially indicates that these images could have worked effectively as memory images for things and even, as in the case of *Tretys* and the *N. Town Mary Play* as images with which to recall the gist of words. We must now ask ourselves, what the representations of Mary and Anne as wives and their marriage scenes are mnemotechnic of.

**By þys ensauple mayst thou see: lessons to be learned from Mary and
Anne as marital exemplar**

Even when there is no portrayal of their marriage ceremony, as in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, the laity are required to remember and learn from Mary's example : 'By þys ensauple mayst thou see [...] (l. 1671). But what

exactly were they required to learn and remember ? I suggest that the representations of Mary and Anne as wives and of their wedding ceremonies were mnemotechnics of a number of lessons which may be divided into three interrelated groups, each of which will be examined in detail ;

- (i) theoretical instruction concerning the spiritual value of marriage and of its nature,
- (ii) practical lessons about the Church's ideal of marriage celebration and
- (iii) teaching in the Church's conception of *proper wifedom*.

(i) Theoretical instruction concerning the value and nature of marriage

In a number of works, reasons are given for Mary and Joseph's marriage, reasons which could and often did include the deliberate promotion of the married state, 'þat wedlocke schulde be loved þe more' (*Tretys*, l. 736). Where Anne is mentioned in our corpus of texts, it is always as a married woman - her relationship to Joachim is never in doubt. One lesson to be learned through the representation of Mary and Anne as wives was the promotion of the state of matrimony.

As we have seen, some Marian works simply informed the laity of the fact of Mary and Joseph's marriage; that Mary and Joseph were married *according to custom* which is to be found in Thomas Hales' *VSM* and its Middle English translation, or *according to the law* as in the Bodleian *Meditaciones* ('And so was this holy lady aftir ye lawe askyd weddid Ioseph,' f.4^v, l.18) and the *NMC* 'Josep hadde þat maide yweddid as it fel in þe lawe,' l. 191). In some of the works examined, Mary and Joseph's marriage was used to teach the canon law concerning the nature of marriage to the laity in a comprehensible and non-technical way. Robert of Brunne informed his audience that Mary and Joseph's marriage had been chaste in order that he might explain that a chaste marriage was

still a complete and indissoluble one and that a first marriage is binding and indissoluble whether it has been consummated or not. William of Shoreham employed their marriage so that he might explain that complete abstinence from coitus is worthy (like the marriage of Mary and Joseph) as long as both partners consent, that it still retains a sacramental quality and is not contrary to the three goods of marriage (*fides, proles* and *sacramentum*). In so doing, he is able to give instruction concerning the marital debt and how marriage is one of the Seven Sacraments. In both cases, the author has used the example of Mary and Joseph to teach about the importance of consent in marriage formation, with Shoreham going further to discuss spiritually safe sex. The stressing of the importance of consent between the two parties was a feature of marriage peculiar to the central Middle Ages. As we have seen, it was not a strong feature of early medieval ideas about marriage when the obtaining of consent was more of a nicety than an obligation.

We have seen that some of the laity were aware of the *Trinubium*, that is, of the belief in Anne's three marriages. The *Trinubium*, was problematic, however, in terms of marital doctrine. St. Paul was one of the first to discourage second marriages. Widowhood was accorded a higher spiritual credit rating than marriage. Although debate existed concerning the spiritual merit of second marriages, in terms of canon law they were perfectly legal and valid. A representation of the *Trinubium* could be interpreted as sanctioning remarriage.

(ii) *Practical lessons about the Church's ideal marriage celebration*

The representations of Mary and Joseph's wedding commonly contain many (but not always all) of the following features; the ceremony is officiated at by a priest who may often be portrayed as a bishop, takes place in a sacred building,

before witnesses who include Mary's parents. The moment in the ceremony which is most usually captured is that of handfasting. In two written works, *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play*, the writers provided their audience with a memory of the actual vows exchanged in the marriage liturgy and of the blessings given to the couple. In the *N.town Mary Play* and in the Whalley Abbey orphreys Joseph gives Mary a ring. In the stained glass of Great Malvern Priory, Anne is shown having her and Joachim's hands joined by a priest before two witnesses (one male and one female).

The visual artists portrayed Mary and Joseph's and Anne and Joachim's marriage celebration in the contemporary way *approved of and promoted by the Church*. We know from the evidence from ecclesiastical courts that this form of celebration; *in facie ecclesiae*, that is public and officially blessed, was not that which was always followed, leaving wreckage, both emotional and financial, in its wake. It seems probable that the representations of Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies exerted an indirect pressure on individuals, or at least served as an *aide mémoire* for the form of marriage celebration which the Church wished to set up as the norm; marriage made publicly before witnesses performed by a priest, opportunity for any impediments to be raised, the consent of both parties freely given and some form of record remaining (community/church knowledge and/or a ring which the woman wore, the only visible symbol of her married status). If this norm was adhered to, it would finally wrest marriage from the secular into the ecclesiastical domain and accomplish something which the Church had attempted, so far unsuccessfully, since the twelfth century.

The depiction of the moment of handfasting and the echoes of the vows and blessings bestowed on the couple appear to go further than recalling to mind

simply that which is *performed* in marriage formation. They may also have served as memory joggers for the gist of the words spoken and also for their significance. As we have seen, handfasting takes place after the consent of the couple has been given and is the moment when the priest transfers the woman into the legal power of the husband. The vows which appear in *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play* may recall not only the process by which they are said (repeated after the priest to the spouse) but also the *content*; in *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play* Joseph's vow recalls the man's response where he vows to live with the woman without sin until separated by death, in *Tretys* Mary's vow recalls the woman's response where she promises to love and serve her husband whilst in the *N. Town Mary Play* Mary promises to keep Joseph as she would her own life. The lessons which may be learned here are doctrinal; marriage involves freely given consent, is permanent and indissoluble (until death) and a woman's role within marriage is different from that of the man; hers is a commitment to service of him. Neither the *Tretys* author nor the *N.town Mary* playwright reproduced either male or female vows verbatim. This may have been because they could not recall them in this manner. It is more likely that it was felt that the female responses, in particular, were inappropriate heard from the mouth of the Virgin Mary. What we are given is the *gist* of the meaning which, as we have seen, would not have been contrary to mnemonic techniques for the recollection of words. That said, although the writer could manipulate what it was that Mary and Joseph vowed, he could not control the memory of each individual within the audience nor the possibility that his audience might know more of the complete vows (mostly likely the gist rather than verbatim) than that which appeared in either *Tretys* or the *N.town Mary Play*. Members of the audience may well have understood that the Church sanctioned

the woman being taken into the legal power of the husband, symbolised through the handfasting and that the woman specifically vowed to be obedient to her husband, 'in bed and at board till death do us part' (*Sarum* rite). With this latter aspect in mind, we move on to our third category of lesson to be learned, that of proper wifedom.

(iii) Teaching the Church's conception of proper wifedom

Mary as exemplar of wifely virtues; chaste, silent and obedient

Unlike her representation as Queen of Heaven or Mediatrix of souls which were far beyond the experience of ordinary women, when Mary was represented as a wife she was invoking a role which linked her with historical women. Margaret Miles has stated that it seems likely that '[...]conceptions of Mary played an important role in shaping real women's subjectivity and socialisation.'²⁷ Medieval employment of Mary as a wife evinces such a relationship with regard to the patriarchal construction of the proper behaviour of a wife. This construction of proper wifedom is effectively summarised by Eustache Deschamps (c.1346 - 1406),

I want a wife who is kind, *meek, modest, quiet*, hard-working, humble, young, and pure of mouth and hands, wise and graceful, and at least fifteen, sixteen, up to twenty years old.²⁸

Patriarchy expected of its wives that they were chaste, silent and obedient, all of which were behaviours associated with Mary's representation in the role of wife.

Chastity

Chastity was, without doubt, the primary quality associated with the Virgin Mary. Chastity characterised (by allowing Mary to fulfil) her roles of Mother of Christ, Bride of Christ, Queen of Heaven and Mediatrix of Souls. It was also a key feature of her portrayal as wife. As we have seen above, Robert of Brunne and

William of Shoreham made specific reference to Mary and Joseph's chaste marriage so that they might learn aspects of the doctrinal theory and canon law governing marriage. Mary's chastity within marriage could also teach by example, that a wife should remain sexually faithful to her husband, as she would have promised in the marriage vow, and of the possible consequences if she did not. Mary's chastity can be seen to have been taken up to mirror the social value of chastity in a patriarchal society.

In a number of the Marian verse lives, the reader/listener is informed of Joseph's reaction to finding Mary pregnant in his absence, and seemingly guilty of adultery (with a young man disguised as an angel; *NMC*, l. 267 and ll. 1219 - 26.) This reaction varies; we meet anger in *Cursor* where, on the discovery, Joseph 'wex thoghtful and likand ill' (l. 11140), sorrow in the *NMC* (version (a), whereas in version (c) Joseph wants to die) where the discovery is described as making Joseph, 'þat him was wo ! ' (l. 249), near physical collapse in Lydgate's *LOL*,

[...] he brast oute forto wepe
 Lyche as he shulde, al in teres drowne
 And for the constreynt, of his sighes depe
 Stode on the poynte, to haue fallen downe
 His soden woo, made hym all moste swone
 So for distresee [...]
 (*LOL*, ll. 1159 - 64)

In the majority of the verse narratives Joseph is most concerned about what will be said to him by the priests who gave Mary into his safe keeping.

There is a perceptible difference between the verse narratives' treatment of Joseph's response to that found in many of the dramatic representations of Joseph's discovery of Mary's pregnancy (often called the 'Joseph's Trouble About Mary' play, as mentioned in *Chapter Two*). Joseph's response is developed and made more prominent in the drama. Several reasons for this development may be

proffered; the dramatists were able to detect the comic/theatrical potential within this part of the infancy narrative, it was a feature of the rise in interest in Joseph which occurred in late medieval spirituality and most pertinent to our purposes, 'Joseph's Trouble About Mary' could be used to address issues concerning contemporary marital relationships. Teresa Coletti has argued that,

In particular, the narrative lives of Christ, which are often cited as sources for the plays themselves, shy away not only from the risky comedy of the cycles but also from the thematic and discursive focus on gender, family and society.²⁹

Her observation that the cycles focus thematically and discursively on gender, family and society can be seen in the 'Joseph's Troubles about Mary' plays where Joseph's response is refashioned so that it becomes the reaction of a contemporary, wronged husband to his apparently adulterous wife.³⁰ As a result, in the drama Mary endures treatment at the hands of her husband as if she were a late-medieval adulteress. The York Joseph asks Mary seven times, at roughly ten line intervals making it sound like a refrain, who the father is.³¹ In the Towneley play of the *Annunciation* Joseph asks Mary twice who the father is and then decides, 'I wyll not fader it!' (l. 222) and that he will leave Mary. In the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' *Annunciation* play also, Joseph walks out on Mary, 'Now farewell, Mary, I leave thee here alone.'³² In the N.town pageant number twelve (which Meredith calls *Joseph's Doubts about Mary*³³) Joseph asks Mary who the father is and when she tells him the child is both his and God's, Joseph calls her a liar.³⁴ He then contemplates leaving her. The N. Town pageants included a play, number 14, *The Trial of Joseph and Mary*, devoted to Mary and Joseph proving their chastity before the Bishop's Court and suffering humiliation and verbal abuse from detractors in the process.

Mary's innocence is proven, of course, and her marriage returns to a happy state. Mary was unique, however. For historical women the lesson to be learned from Mary's treatment was twofold; firstly, they saw played out before them that which provided married women with status and value in a patriarchy (even the Virgin Mary) was marital chastity/fidelity and if there was merely a hint that the woman had been unfaithful, she was assumed guilty until proven innocent. Secondly, women learned of the probable fate for a supposed adulterous wife; verbal abuse from their husbands, being deserted, left without emotional/financial support (canon law which permitted husbands to leave their adulterous wives) and public humiliation (the publication of the adultery of Beatrice of Ely at Lane's End's by William of Hoo is evidence that such humiliation was no idle threat). The woman and her husband might even end up before the Bishop's court (as is played out in *N.town pageant 14*). This actually happened. Recorded in the Church Court of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, in 1496, is the following sorry tale;

[...] Roger Calaber on account of the adultery and drunkenness by Elizabeth his wife. He sought a divorce in respect of bed and board. He had a day to prove the said adultery and drunkenness etc. On 28th day of July the year of the Lord 1496 in the parish church of Beaconsfield before master Nicholas Treble, the official of the lord archdeacon of Buckingham for the tribunal sitting to carry out the law, the same Roger appeared with William Clerk and Alexander Heron. They were admitted and sworn and a day was assigned for the sentence to be heard shortly. This next day, viz, 7th day of the month of October [...] [1496], having arrived, the aforesaid Roger Calaber and Elizabeth his wife appeared in person in the parish church of Beaconsfield before master Nicholas Treble [...] ³⁵

Treble's ruling was that enough evidence had been produced to prove Elizabeth's adultery. Roger and Elizabeth were divorced and separated in respect of bed and board and instructed to live continently and chastely under penalty of the law.³⁶

Mary's representation as a wife in the drama can also be seen to reinforce patriarchal lessons about moral prudence in women. Kathleen Ashley, in her study

of male-authored conduct books (works written for women's guidance in virtuous behaviour and how to be appealing to a potential husband) addressed to non-aristocratic women, argues for a link between such works and their influence on the English cycle plays.³⁷ Ashley interprets the scenes of 'Joseph's Doubts' as playing, 'upon the possibility that Mary as a vulnerable young woman has been seduced by a handsome young man, not the 'angel' she claims.'³⁸ The conduct books are quite specific about the dangers which await young women and call for 'moral and behavioural prudence on the part of young women to resist the seductive words of young men who would lead them astray.'³⁹ In Joseph's response in the N.town pageant *Joseph's Trouble About Mary* and in the York pageant of the same name, where Joseph accuses Mary of having been beguiled by some young man, it is clear that 'Joseph has read his conduct literature and knows the omnipresent danger of handsome youths and their fine words.'⁴⁰ It is this patriarchal fear of the essential immorality of women that is articulated in these two plays. Mary is, of course, innocent, but the accusation that she, the most chaste of all women, 'played away' with a young man of glib tongue, is a danger against which all young wives should avoid through moral behaviour.

Silence

The Knight of La Tour Landry indicates to his daughters that an aspect of Mary's virtuous prudence was her silence which she maintained at the Annunciation, until she was fully apprised of the situation in which she found herself and asked Gabriel, 'the ende of the faytte or dede the whiche he dyd announce to her.'⁴¹

Mary's silence was praised from the pulpit, by Dr. William Lichfield, divine of All Hallows the Great in London,

Eve, oure oldest moder in paradise, held long tale with the eddre, and told hym qwwat god had seyde to hire and to hir husband of etyng the apple; and bi hire talkyng the fend understod hire febylnes and hire unstabilnes, and fond therby a way to bryng hir to confusioun. Our Lady seynt Mary did on an othere wyse. Sche tolde the aungel no tale, bot asked hym discretly thing that she knew not herself. Ffolow therfore our lady in discret spekyng and heryng, and not cakelinge Eve that both spake and herd unwisely [...]⁴²

Both the Knight and Dr. Lichfield praise Mary's silence as a wife (at the moment of the Annunciation) and Lichfield contrasts her behaviour with that of her anti-type, the garrulous Eve who meets a fate worthy of a woman who cannot hold her tongue. When Mary is presented as a wife, she is presented as voiceless, literally in the visual arts and metaphorically in the verse and prose narratives, in the sense that the little she does say is often reported to the reader / listener through the male mediating voice of the narrator. Clearly Mary has a speaking role in the drama but what do we observe ? Mary only speaks when spoken to and whilst Joseph is bemoaning his lot in the 'Trouble' scenes, Mary offers as her only comment that the child is his and God's. A silent wife was the patriarchal ideal and Mary's silence something for real women to emulate. Lichfield's use of Mary in this way is interesting because it represents a deliberate choice on his behalf. Mary is seen in some late medieval texts elsewhere in Europe as a *speaker* - a teacher,⁴³ but Lichfield has chosen to disregard this tradition and to use Mary as an example of virtuous silence.

Obedience

Patriarchy demanded obedience of its women for, as Saint Paul had written, 'I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband' (I Corinthians 11 : 3). Mary is obedient over the choice of her marriage partner; although preferring a life of chastity, she agrees to marry the man whom God has chosen for her through the miracle of the flowering rod. In

many representations Joseph is portrayed as an old man who is unwilling, at first, to marry, yet Mary does not object. Mary could be a useful example with which to persuade recalcitrant young women into arranged marriages for which they had little enthusiasm. For those who could recall the female marriage vow, they could have completed Mary's partial vows which are to be found in *Tretys* and the *N.town Mary Play* or associated these vows with the moment of handfasting which accompanies them; at this point the woman promised, 'to be obedient' to her husband. In the mid thirteenth century, the Franciscan friar and Oxford lecturer, Adam Marsh (friend of both Thomas of Hales, author of the *VSM* and Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln) wrote with frank advice to Eleanor de Montfort, wife of Simon and sister of Henry III. The content of his letter concerned shortness of temper and in which he warned Eleanor about the

[...] demonical furors of wrath that do not shrink from disturbing the most loving peace of marriage, "For wrath killeth the foolish man, and envy slayeth the silly one." (Job 5 : 2) ⁴⁴

In light of her and Simon's tempers and their desire for political power, this was sound advice but what concerns us here is the exemplar whom he advises Eleanor should emulate in her marital behaviour. Adam exhorts Eleanor to banish this pestilence from her soul before it dragged her into the pit and to submit herself to '[...] the most *placid grace* of the most pious Virgin Mary.' ⁴⁵ (emphasis my own) Marsh has made the connection, for Eleanor's edification, between Mary's behaviour and that which is appropriate in marriage; it is better to display placid grace which one may interpret as obedience, rather than anger because the latter may destroy a marriage. Marsh's use of Mary in this way, is a matter of choice. The very limited material in the Gospels can be read to represent Mary as a very powerful woman, even a scold, nagging at the Marriage of Cana, for example.

Marsh has chosen to demonstrate to Eleanor that even the most powerful of women was required to hold her tongue and be obedient.

The utility of Mary's wifely obedience as an example with which to instruct his own daughters was not lost on the Knight of La Tour Landry. In chapter 109, the Knight tells them that, '[...] the holy / mayden honoured and was obeissaunt vnto her husbonde Ioseph, wherein the scripture praisithe her highly [...]' (fol. 48, col. 2). He reiterates Mary's obedience in the following chapter, only on this occasion seeing it as a facet of her humility,

and for that humilite she was chose the most / worthi of all creatoures, and so plesaunt unto the diuinite, / that , within her pure uirginalite of her flesshe, blode, and / bone, the Sone of God toke humnite; wherthorough here / is good ensuample vnto all women to loue this vertu of / humilite, that is to saie, to be humble vnto God and vnto / the worlde, and for a wedded woman to be obedient and humble vnto her husbonde. (chapter 110, fol. 48b, col.2)

Several aspects are worthy of comment here. There is no scriptural (that is Biblical) praise of Mary's obedience of Joseph; if the Knight believes this, it has arisen from a patriarchal interpretation of scriptural passages. The Knight is stating that all women should be humble before God and the world (read patriarchy in general) and that, following Mary's example, a woman should be obedient and humble to that specific patriarchal figure who had direct legal and Church sanctioned control over her, namely her husband. The Knight writes about Mary as the archetypal obedient wife, articulating without making overt, that Mary, *despite* being Joseph's superior (in terms of instrumental in God's salvific schema) *still* owed him her obedience. As we have seen, this obedience was suggested by Adam Marsh to Eleanor de Montfort and it was to bedevil the marriages of queens regnant, of course. The Knight is thus teaching that Mary was a perfectly obedient wife because that belonged to wifhood and that, whatever her status, even if she is absurdly his superior as was the Mother of God, a woman

owes obedience to her man, something which we find encoded in the marriage liturgy. The Knight may well have urged this upon his daughters to make their unions strife-free.

Anne as exemplar of wifely virtues : love and lineage

The lessons learned from Anne's representation as a wife were different in kind from those of Mary. Anne appears as an exemplar for the human, companionable aspects of marital union and, whether approved of or not by the ecclesiastical authorities, Anne could be understood to have married *three* times and on each occasion her marriage had been fruitful and spiritually blessed, replicating the official, that is Church sanctioned, purpose of marriage; to raise children and create a companionable family unit. Anne could be interpreted as exemplifying the importance of marital love and creating family lineage.

Love

As a wife, Anne could be understood to represent sexual fidelity, charity, honesty; what we might recognise today as wifely love. We have seen how the apocryphal narratives told of her distress at Joachim's sudden disappearance after the refusal of his offering at the Temple and her joy at his return, culminating in their kiss at the Golden Gate of the Temple. Whilst this image became embroiled in doctrinal wrangles over the Immaculate Conception,⁴⁶ a surface reading suggests the physical reunion of a married couple who are clearly enjoying the moment. The *Cursor* tells us about Anne and Joachim that,

[...] suilk a cuple neuer nan,
Sua sammertale, wit-vten strijf,

tiux ani spused and his wijf
(*Cursor*, Cotton MS., ll 10168 - 70)

Their marriage was one of twenty years' duration and was a happy one. Clearly a part of this strife-free relationship was that they were sexually faithful, one to the other as they 'vseden chaast wedlok' (*LOL*, section 2, l. 2). Osbern of Bokenham tells that Anne and Joachim were suited to one another in their personalities,

Lyche to lyche euer doth applie [...]
So vertu to vertu is agreable;
Wherfore anne to ioachym was wyf ful able. (ll. 1623 - 1643)

Saint Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) believed God had recognised the qualities in Anne and Joachim's marriage, which she describes in her *Sermo Angelicus* and where she places it in relation to the law of Moses which,

[...] taught men how God and their neighbour should be loved and how wedlock between man and woman should be kept according to the Law of God and the law of honesty. God [...] to whose sight all things present and to come are clear and manifest, the while he beheld all the righteous and honest wedlocks that were to exist from the making of the first man unto the last day, he yet foresaw none that, in *godly charity and honesty*, would be like unto the wedlock between Joachim and Anna. (emphasis my own).⁴⁷

Anne and Joachim's union was founded on charity and honesty and was better than all the other righteous marriages.

Lineage

We have already seen how Osbern of Bokenham demonstrated that Anne and Joachim were suited to each other in terms of their personalities: he states that the same was true of their social standing;

Wedded sche was in ful solnne wyse
Into a cuntre clepyd galyle
And to a man a-cordyng to hyr degre,
I mene to ioachym, in the cyte
Off nazareth dwellynge & of dauid hows,
A ryche man & of gret dignyte [...] (Bokenham, *Life of Anne*, ll. 1627 - 31)

The importance of family background and genealogy is a key lesson to be learned from Anne's representation as a wife. Anne was seen as the generatrix of a

family lineage, vital in terms of the salvific history of humanity; she was mother of Mary and grandmother of Christ. If one was aware of the *Trinubium*, then one knew also that six apostles of Jesus are Anne's grandsons; Simon, Jude, James the Minor and Joseph (sons of Mary Cleophas and Alpheus) and John the Evangelist and James the Elder (sons of Mary Salome and Zebedeus). This extended family network could only come about through Anne's multiple marriages. Responses to Anne's multiple marriage varied. In Mirk's *Festial*, the fourteenth century sermon collection, Kathleen Ashley identifies what she terms, '[...] the anxieties about the holiness of the marital state and the validity of remarriage [...]'⁴⁸ In Mirk's sermon for St. Anne's Day, Anne is placed in a nominal lineage of Old and then New Testament Annas and is thus typologically connected to a lineage of holy wives.⁴⁹ The sermon includes also details of Anne's three marriages and the descendants thereof. Ashley interprets the sermon thus;

The sermon thus elides, first, the distinction between spiritual relations (based on the nominal identity of the various Annas) and physical relations (based on birth into a family). It also collapses the distinction between Joachim and the lineage of David and Anne's other marriages and the lineages they establish. All are resolved; all somehow conjoin in the figure of Anne.⁵⁰

Whilst I would concur that the distinction between spiritual and physical relations is blurred in the sermon, I would point out that what Mirk achieves is the highlighting of the importance of lineage *per se*, whether it be spiritual or physical. Anne is inextricably linked to the value of lineage. This would seem to be borne out by Mirk's instruction to the people on St. Anne's day:

Knele adown, and pray Saynt Anne to pray to her holy doghtyr, our lady, that scho pray to her sonne that he geve you hele yn body and yn sowle, and grace to kepe your ordyr of wedlok, and gete such chyldryn that ben pleasant and trew servandys to God, and soo com to the blys that Saynt Anne ys yn.⁵¹

In contrast, the *Life of Anne (Type C)* makes no attempt to disguise the complexity of the marital arrangements and celebrates the wide kinship group

which results, exhorting its audience, 'To here and to lere of *thyng that is good*.' (l. 2).

The importance of Anne as genetrix is stated in *The Myroure of Oure Ladye*, a Middle English devotional work consisting of a rationale of divine service in general with a vernacular translation and explanation of the *Hours* and *Masses of Our Lady*.⁵² The work was written for the Bridgettine monastery of Sion, a foundation of seventy-five members, sixty of whom were women.⁵³ The monastery's foundation was inextricably connected with dynasty as is suggested by its Charter of Foundation, signed on March 3, 1415 by Henry V, which laid the following duties upon the members:

[...] to celebrate Divine Service for ever, for our healthful estate while we live, and for our soul when we shall have departed this life, and for the souls of our most dear lord and father Henry, late King of England, and Mary his late wife, our most dear mother, and also for the souls of John, late Duke of Lancaster, our grandfather, and Blanche his late wife, our grandmother, and of other our progenitors, and of all the faithful departed.⁵⁴

Sion was to serve as a lasting reminder of the Lancastrian dynasty which had come about through the fruitfulness of Blanche of Lancaster (d. 1369) and Mary of Bohun (d. 1394).

The *Myroure*'s editor, Blunt, dates the *Myroure* to some point between 1415 (the founding of Sion) and 1450 and suggests that it was written by Dr. Thomas Gascoign, of Merton College, Oxford.⁵⁵ In the first lesson of the Wednesday service, the author explains, amongst other things,

[...] how holy a wedlocke was betwyxt Ioachym and Anne. [...] whyle he [God] behelde all the rightwys and honeste wed-/lockes. that shulde be from the fyrst makeynge of / man. vnto the laste day. he se none lyke in godly / charyte and honeste. vnto the wedlocke of Ioachym / and of Anne. (The Wednesday Service, Lesson One, fol. C. xv)

The description of Anne and Joachim's personal relationship sounds remarkably like the words of St. Bridget of Sweden in her *Sermo Angelicus* but this should not

surprise as the monastery was dedicated to St. Bridget and Gascoign had translated a life of St. Bridget for the sisters of Sion.⁵⁶ The work continues,

[...] And conueniently are deuoute wed-/ lockes lykened vnto fayre trees. wherof the route. ys / suche vnyon of tow hartes. that ys to say that they be / wedded togyther. for that onely reason that worshyp / and glory come therof to god hymselfe. *Conuenienter*, / The wylle also of suche wedded man or woman ys / conueniently lykened vnto fruytefulle braunches. when / they kepe so the dred of god in all theyre workes. / that they loue honestly togyther after the commaunde- / mente of god. onely by cause of bryngynge furthe of / chyldren to the praysynge of god.

The author makes clear that one outcome of devout marriage is the procreation of children to praise God. His use of imagery is interesting; devout marriage is likened to a beautiful tree rooted in the union of two hearts. Continuing in arboreal vein, he then suggests that the will of the devoutly married man or woman who fears God in all he/she does, lives honestly (sexually faithful) and has coitus for procreation only, may be likened to the fruitful branches of this tree. Anne and Joachim's are included in such marriages with Mary the fruit of their God-fearing union.

For a medieval audience, the arboreal metaphor may have recalled the genealogy of Christ set out in the image of a tree. This was commonly called the *Tree of Jesse*, constructed from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, in which the Old and New Testament were linked with one another. This image, which arose in the eleventh century and occurred with great frequency in the thirteenth, was based on an exegesis of Isaiah 11 : 1, 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root.'⁵⁷ It showed the origins of Christ schematised via the male line. It is described thus by Ton Brandenburg,

The trunk grows from the father of David, Jesse, who is usually depicted in a recumbent posture. In all sorts of variations the branches grow out of this trunk into a mighty tree of prophets, kings and patriarchs, finally ending in the crown with Mary and Joseph. ⁵⁸

The tree which the fifteenth century *Sion Myroure* describes clearly flourishes from Anne and Joachim. In Northwest Europe, particularly in Germany and the Netherlands, from 1500, there was a vogue for the visual portrayal of a tree which places Christ's descent through the *female* line,

The Holy Kinship of Saint Anne [...] only deals with Christ's immediate family in three or four generations; it indicates the more horizontal (cognate) family relationships and focuses on the origins in the female line. The principal place is not occupied by the far (agnate) forefather Jesse or David, but by Anne or her mother Emerentia. Hence it is often referred to as the *Arbor Annae* and is usually associated with fertility [...] Occasionally Joachim and Anne are situated in the center [sic] of the representation, shown with intertwined branches growing from their breast, but usually Anne is seated on a throne alone. In her immediate vicinity are her daughter Mary and her grandson Jesus, the Saint Anne Trinity. Grouped round them are her other two husbands, her daughters from these marriages, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, and their respective husbands with their children - the six apostles.⁵⁹

Whilst such *Arbor Annae* images have not survived from England, as we have seen, many were aware of Christ's descent through the female line, as set out in the *Trinubium*. These genealogical details became more widely reproduced in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The annotator of the N.town pageants, attempted to visually represent the relationships in the margin of the plays' manuscript. He was not alone for Sheingorn has discovered that two English Psalters, the Imola Psalter and the Queen Mary Psalter, '[...] juxtapose such a clearly female genealogy with the patriarchal Tree of Jesse by placing the two genealogies on consecutive or facing pages [...]'⁶⁰ The painting images on the north screen of Houghton St. Giles (late fifteenth century), on the last lap to the Marian shrine at Walsingham, is, according to Eamon Duffy, 'a complete image of abundant fruitfulness - Emeria, Mary Salome, Mary Cleophas, the Blessed Virgin, Elizabeth, Anne, and all the holy children.'⁶¹ The south Altar-screen at Ranworth, four miles north-west of Robert Reynes' home at Acle, contains paintings of, amongst others, Margaret of Antioch (killing the dragon with her cross), Mary

Salome with her sons James and John, the Virgin Mary and Jesus and Mary Cleophas. Duffy explains the configuration thus :

The three Marys surrounded by babies and toddlers, are unmistakably images of fecundity, of holy child-bearing, and by inclusion in their company the virgin-martyr of Antioch has become a member of the Holy Kindred. But this apparently puzzling association is no casual confusion. Margaret's miraculous escape out of the dragon's belly had long earned her the role of patron saint of childbirth.⁶²

Pre-Reformation England boasts a number of stained glass windows which recall the Holy families arising from Anne's multiple marriages, a configuration which is often called *The Holy Kinship*; in the south window of the Saville chapel in the Church at Thornhill (West Yorkshire) are panels of the three Holy families with donors, dating from around 1447 and some twenty years later, from around 1470 in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate (York) was given a window with a separate panel for each individual family, husband, wife and offspring (that of Mary Salome, Mary Cleophas and The Virgin Mary). Sheingorn has suggested that the Goodramgate images become a juxtaposed series of nuclear families and that this in turn, marked a shift in emphasis, at least in some levels of society, from the extended to the nuclear family.⁶³ If this is so, this is very early in the history of the nuclear family as the increasing importance of the nuclear family as a means by which to organise society is something which Lawrence Stone sees as taking place in England between 1500 and 1700.⁶⁴ Whether Anne's *Trinubium* is to be read as an extended kinship group or as the progenitor of three nuclear families, or indeed, as seems most likely, is capable of both interpretations, the emphasis is the same; at the 'root' lay Anne; as genetrix of the Holy genealogy and as a wife who might serve as an exemplar to all wives upon whom family hopes lay.

Anne as marital instructor to Mary

Wendy Scase has identified and attempted to contextualise the image of Saint Anne teaching Mary to read, which is found in the arts and is commonly referred to as the *Education of the Virgin*. The earliest examples of this image are English and date from the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁶⁵ Scase explains their popularity in England as coinciding with the characteristically English devotion to Anne and the Immaculate Conception and interest in Mary's life before the Annunciation.⁶⁶ Scase sees a disparity between the apocryphal accounts of Mary's life and the visual representation of the education of the Virgin Mary: the *Protevangelion*, *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Evangelium* all tell how Mary was taken to the Temple at the age of three to be educated and of her excellence in her devotion and study of scripture whereas the image in art demonstrates that it was Saint Anne who educated her daughter. The text from which Anne teaches Mary varies; it can be an a.b.c. but usually it is a text from the Bible, such as 'Domine labia mea aperies,' (Lord open thou my lips : Psalm 50, l. 15, Vulgate) or 'Audi filia et vide inclina aurem tuam quia concupiuit rex speciem tuam,' (Hearken, O daughter and see, and incline thine ear, for a king shall desire thy beauty : an adaptation of Psalm 44, ll. 11-12, Vulgate).⁶⁷ Of the surviving images, a number are especially relevant to our study as they appear to have a special relationship to the representation of Mary's marriage which they accompany. At All Saints, Croughton (the wall paintings of which are discussed in *Chapter Two*) the image is depicted twice. Anne is shown standing, holding an open book before Mary, at the east end of the north wall where it probably belonged to the Lady Chapel. The second image is on the south wall of the south aisle where Anne is shown seated, with Mary beside her; whilst Mary turns towards her mother, holding an open book in her right hand with Anne grasping her daughter's right arm, Mary's left

arm is grasped by a male figure, presumably Joachim, who motions as if to pull her away.⁶⁸ The image exists also on the second of the four, fourteenth century Apparels of Albs, as discussed in *Chapter Two* and in a Psalter, now San Lorenzo de El Escorial MS Q II. 6, an early fourteenth century book of English origin which may first have been owned by a female member of the Bardolf family,⁶⁹ interestingly the same name as the family whose coat of arms appears on the Apparels of Albs. A final example is not a pictorial one but a dramatic one; in the *N.town Mary Play*, after the Bishop has announced that all young girls over the age of fourteen should be married 'to þe increase of more plenté' (l. 604), Joachim states the following;

Herke now, Anne, my jentyl spowse,
 How þat þe buschop his lawe hath tolde;
 þat what man hath a dowtyr in his house
 þat passyth fourtene ȝeres olde,
 He muste here brynge [...]
 Into þe tempyl a spowse to wed.
 Wherfor oure dowtyr ryth good and dowse
 Into þe tempyl sche must be ledde,
 And þat ryght sone. (ll. 606 - 615)

His words clearly imply that Mary has been at home with her parents after her presentation at the Temple and is now to return for her betrothal. In each of these examples, the image of Anne educating Mary comes before Mary's betrothal to Joseph (in the case of the Apparels of Albs my conjectured illustration of the Betrothal and in the El Escorial manuscript, the appearance of the suitors).

Scase offers as a possible source of the image of Anne teaching Mary to read, a passage from Epiphanius' ninth century life of Mary where Joachim and Anne take Mary to the temple at the age of three, only to take her home with them to Nazareth until her return to the Temple at the age of seven, when they consecrate her life to God.⁷⁰ Scase sees no bar to its transmission to England as it was in

England before 1361.⁷¹ Another source which she suggests is the *VBMVSR*, as discussed in *Chapter Two* of this study. In this work it is *after* her betrothal that Mary returns to her parents' house for education at home.⁷² As we have seen, this German work was known in England. It is possible, however, that the illustrators, even if they knew the continental sources, were making their own meaning from this image. Anne can be interpreted as educating Mary, before her betrothal, in the arts of marriage. We know from the work of John Carmi Parsons that Plantagenet Queens educated their daughters in preparation for the powerful diplomatic positions into which their political marriage might thrust them.⁷³ Queens were not the only ones to instruct their daughters in marriage. As we have seen, the Middle English, verse narrative, *What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter*,⁷⁴ suggests women from other classes also received instruction from their mothers or women who, as their employers, were 'mother-substitutes.' It is not impossible that the illustrations of Anne educating Mary with a book, which occur in narrative cycles *before* Mary's betrothal, might anticipate that their audience recall the cultural phenomenon of a mother instructing her daughter in the patriarchal expectations of wifehood. The actual verse incorporated into some of these images are not resistant to such an interpretation : 'Domine labia mea aperies,' is a psalm of David in which he articulates the spiritual dangers of iniquitous intercourse (David has just had sex with Bathsheba) and 'Audi Filia [...],' instructs obedience in a daughter who is required to leave her family for a king who desires her beauty. Mary learned her lessons well.

During the central Middle Ages, Mary and Anne were used by some as marital exemplar and were employed in three particular areas; theoretical instruction concerning the spiritual value and nature of marriage, practical lessons

about the Church's ideal of marriage celebration and teaching in the Church's conception of *proper wifhood*. Whilst the lessons learned from Mary and Anne's wedding ceremony were identical, those gleaned from their representation as wives was qualitatively different; Mary exemplified the wifely virtues of chastity, silence and obedience whilst Anne those of marital love and lineage. We must now seek to establish the reception and success or otherwise of these images. Did either or both saints' portrayal as wives mediate or not ordinary women's experiences ?

The success of Mary and Anne as marital exemplar

Representations of Mary and Anne as wives may have functioned as effective *aides mémoire*. They may have been used by some to recall theoretical instruction concerning the spiritual value of marriage and of its nature, practical lessons about the Church's ideal of marriage celebration and teaching in the Church's conception of *proper wifhood*. This did not, however, guarantee their success in shaping real women's subjectivity and socialisation. As suggested in the *Introduction*, the act of representation is not innocent and is as much about the receiver and his/her reception of the image as it is about the sender and his/her intentions. In order to ascertain whether or not the images of Mary and Anne as wives did succeed as marital exemplar and permeate medieval consciousness, we must look for devotion to these saints in this image, amongst the married women of the central Middle Ages. Our task is difficult; medieval female voices were often silenced through lack of education (particularly by limited access to literacy) and by roles which patriarchy prescribed for them. Where their voices have come down to us, we hear often those of wealthy aristocratic and bourgeois

women who cannot claim to be representative of *all* women. However, as these are the voices which have survived, we must look to them for our answers in their wills, in their literary writings and to the evidence which we have of how medieval women married.

*Testamentary evidence of female devotion to Mary and Anne as wives :
Gowns and girdles, rosaries and rings*

One locale from which women's voices may be recovered is that of medieval wills. There are problems in examining testamentary records and using them as evidence. The survival of wills from this period is patchy and this may give a false impression of geographical / chronological spread of findings, not all wills have been transcribed / translated and printed and so many remain available only in Public Records' Offices and County Record Offices; more wills written by men exist than those written by women because a married woman could only make a will with her husband's permission (although a widow was legally free to do) thus placing undue emphasis on a small sample, the will is a formulaic document and so 'true' self-expression may lie buried beneath stock phrases; and finally, often the woman's words are mediated through a male scribe who may also have influenced the nature of the bequests. That said, the bequests made in the sample of medieval wills examined below do suggest something of the nature of married women's piety in this period.

Generally, a woman might bequeath items of linen, household items and her own garments, and, if she were wealthy, personal jewellery such as rings and rosaries (usually called and spelled 'beedes') and more rarely, books. With the exception of the latter, the items were very much part of the domestic domain, that is women's space. The items bequeathed vary in direct relation to the wealth and

the status of the testatrix but, as a general rule valuable personal items usually went to named beneficiaries. The will of Katherine Mountford, widow of alderman Thomas Mountford of Doncaster (proven 4 April 1499) illustrates how a reasonably wealthy woman disposed of her goods,

[...] To Saynte Katerine alter a litill pece [or ciphum of silver called a *peace* ?] on of the thre litill peces, the which I brought from Wakefeld wt me. To Issabell Abdy, my syster-in-law, ij spon wt falte endys. To Richard Layce vj sponys with gilted knoppes. To Agnes Lacye, iiij sponys. To John Abdy, John, Thomas and Isabell Lacye, and Isabell Abdy, each, ij sponys. To Isabell Abdy the greatest maser [bowl] of viijth. Also Ri[chard] Layce the beste masser wt the prynt in the bothom. Also William Hobson a masser wtout a prynt in the bothom : also aither of his doughters a spon. To Robert Abdy and his wyffe iiij sponys. To Agnes Milner a maser. Also Isabell Lacye a pece. [...] To ychone of my children iiij towels, etc. [...] The house to be dimised and lettyn to freme, and the profet thereof to be kept to the use of Jane Lacye, to hir mariage money be paid, that is to say xxli.⁷⁵

What we see is a woman with a remarkable collection of cutlery, who uses her domestic implements to pass on wealth (and reminders of herself) to her patron saint, her family and friends. An extract from the lengthy will of the childless Anne Harling, Lady Scrope and widow of John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, dated 28 August, 1498, illustrates the testamentary power of a thrice married widow and sole heiress of the estates of her father, Sir Robert Harling of Norfolk,

To olde Jone v marc and my nyght gowne;⁷⁶ and, yf she go to a hous of religion v li. To my nece Elizabeth Wyngefeld, my goddoughter [Anne's first husband was Sir William Chamberlayne; her second Sir Robert Wingfield], a dymysent of goold, wt a ruby and a dyamaunt; and a peyre of beedes of goold whiche were my suster dame Elizabeth Wyngefeld. To my nece Elianore my gowne of blak saten. - Servants. [...] To my lady, wiff to my sone, now lorde Scrop [presumably a son of John Scrope by an earlier marriage] one of my dymysentes, or a litill gyrdill. To my younge lady of Upsale a glas garnyshed wt silver and gylte [...] To my nece, dame Anne Wyngefeld, a peyre towellis of werke [embroidery]. To my nece Anne Echyngham, a rynge of goold. To my nece, Katerine Brewse, a rynge of goold. To yche of my nevewes, my suster dame Elizabeth childern, an olde noble [...] To my cosyn dame Elisabeth Chamberleyn, a gyrdell of blak and goold harnysed wt gold. [...] To dame Jane Blakeney my white booke of Prayers.⁷⁷

Gowns, girdles, money, jewellery, rosary beads and books are all itemised with great particularity to the men, women and children who formed Anne Harling's extended family network; Anne remembers in her will her relatives from each of

her three marriages as well as her servants. It is clear from the gift of the 'peyre of beedes of goold' to Elizabeth Wingfield that they had originally belonged to Elizabeth's mother, Elizabeth, and had come into Anne's possession at some point, now to be returned. Valuable jewellery, silver plate and gowns clearly moved within families and was seen as part of a family's estate.

That said, a number of women willed personal items which one might have expected to have been willed to relatives, to Marian churches or to specific statues of Mary and Anne. What we find is that these objects were usually gowns and girdles, rosaries and rings.

Some wealthy women left their own dresses to a particular statue of Mary. In 1439, Isabella, Countess of Warwick (who lies buried in Tewkesbury Abbey) bequeathed her gown '[...] of grene Alyn cloth of gold with wyde sleeves, And a tabernacle alt[er] so of syluer lyke as the tymbur is In maner ouer oure Lady of Cauersham.'⁷⁸ to Our Lady of Walsingham, along with the '[...]table with the image of oure lady with a glasse to-fore hit.'⁷⁹ To Our Lady of Worcester Isabella left, '[...] the grete image of wex that is at London.'⁸⁰ In 1506 - 7, Dame Catherine Hastings, widow of Sir John Hastings left a number of her gowns to specific Marian statues;

To our Lady of Walshyngahm my velvet gown. To Our Lady of Doncastre my tawny chamlett gown. To our Lady of Belcrosse my blak chamlett. To our Lady of Hymmyngburgh a pece of cremell, and a lace of gold of Venys sett wt perle.⁸¹

The fate of these garments was to be cut up; they might make copes, cushions or be used as part of an altar-frontal.

A corpus of women willed jewellery to Marian churches and statues of Mary. The bequest of personal items of jewellery was not unusual. Gail McMurray Gibson makes mention of a 1529 inventory of Long Melford (the church whose

rebuilding was financed mostly by John Clopton) which refers to a cult statue of Our Lady housed in the Lady Chapel which had been donated an, '[...] astonishing array (and weight) of rings, jewels [...] and "buckles that were affixed" upon the Apron of our Lady," apparently as votive offerings.'⁸² Bequests leaving rosary beads to Mary have survived. In 1498, Anne, Lady Scrope of Harling of East Harling, recorded in her will that she wished to divide her gold and crimson rosary beads into four equal strands, to be left as follows;

To our Lady of Walsyngham x of my grete beedes of goold lassed wt sylke crymmesyn and goold, wt a grete botton of goold, and tassellyd wt the same. To oure Lady of Pewe * x of the same beedes. To Seint Edmond of Bury x of the same beedes. To Seint Thomas of Caunterbury x of the same beede.⁸³ * Our Lady of Pity at Ipswich.

In 1504, Anne Barett of Bury St. Edmunds, bequeathed to Our Lady of Walsingham, '[...] my corral bedys of thrys fyfty, and my maryeng ryng, wt all thyngys hangyng thereon.'⁸⁴ Anne Barett was the niece of John Baret [sic], wealthy cloth merchant from Bury St. Edmunds whose own Marian devotion has been recently documented by Gail McMurray Gibson.⁸⁵ Our Lady of Walsingham was left girdles; the Lincoln Wills of 1516 - 32 record the bequest of Catherine Barton who bequeathed Our Lady 'a corse gyrdell with a pendyll and a bukkyl of sylver.'⁸⁶

As suggested by the example of Anne Barett of Bury, wedding rings were also bequeathed to Marian churches. In 1499 Agnes Petygrewe of Publowe in the diocese of Bath and Wells left to, '[...] the B. M. de le Peler [Pillar] of the said Church of Publow [All Saints] my weding ryng.'⁸⁷ Agnes also left a blue gown to the church of Publow and one may conjecture that this too, was for the Blessed Mary of the Pillar. In 1527 Joane Serne, widow of the parish of Shepton Mallet [Somerset] bequeathed her gold wedding ring to Our Lady of the brotherhood of

the parish church of Shepton Malet and another gold ring to Our lady of Corscombe.⁸⁸ In that same year, another Somerset widow, Alice Hensley of Porlock left her wedding ring to the store of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Pilton.⁸⁹ Leaving one's wedding ring to Marian churches was also a feature of female piety as exemplified in the bequests from pre-Reformation Sussex ; in 1520 - 1 Alice Ball of Midhurst left her wedding ring the cross of the Church of St. Mary, Harting, in 1524 Margaret Hartill left her wedding ring to the gold cross at Our Lady of Climping and on August 21, 1539, Joan Gawwyn bequeathed her wedding ring to the high altar of the Church of Our Lady at Felpham.⁹⁰

Anne also was the subject of testamentary bequests but in the sample of wills taken, there were far fewer bequests to Anne than to her daughter. Like images of Mary, statues of Anne were left rosary beads, as, for example, by Alice Carre of Norwich (d. before 1532) who left her small coral beads to be, 'daily about the image of St. Anne.'⁹¹ The most stunning bequest to a statue of St. Anne remains that made in 1501-2 by Dame Joan Chamberleyn of York. It merits quotation in full;

I, dame Jane [sic] Chaumerleyn, of the parishe of Synt John Baptist in Hundgait, vowes. To be buried in the monysterie of our Lady wtout the cetie of Yorke, afore the alter and blessid ymage of Saynt Ursule.

Also I wit my weddyngge ringe of golde, a gyrdill the tushoye [tissue] theroff of gold of Vynes [Venice] hernest with sylver and gylt, and a payr of corall baydes gaudiett wt sylver [with silver gauds], unto yt blessid ymage of saynt Anne wtin the said monystorie of our Lady : and I will that the ryngge, the day of my bureall, be putt on hir fynger, the gyrdyll abowt hir, and the baydes in hir hand. ⁹²

Joan leaves her gold wedding ring, a girdle with a silver and gold fastener and a coral rosary with silver gauds (after every ten ordinary beads there followed a larger one of a finer material). The statue of Anne was to wear the wedding ring, girdle and hold the rosary of the testatrix and stand as a memory image of the woman as wife who had made that bequest. The image of St. Anne in the

monastery of Our Lady was to re-present to those attending her funeral, the piety of Joan Chamberlayn, wife of William. As both the girdle and rosary are quite distinctive, there could be no mistake in seeing Anne as Joan (wife and probably mother) and vice versa.

What do we learn about married women's responses to Mary and Anne as wives from this admittedly brief survey of testamentary evidence? That *some* women did connect with Mary and Anne as wives. The kind of items that are bequeathed are items which patriarchy would label as strongly feminine. They are also intimate and precious objects; the gowns and girdles and the rosaries and rings would have been intimate with the woman's body, a sexualised one due to her having been married. The girdle was particularly significant to childbearing women. As Marina Warner explains,

The sexuality of the symbol derives from its tantalizing ambivalence: loosed, the girdle gives promise; fastened, it denies. In that sense, it is a mirror image of the symbol of the virgin-bride. But its predominant association with fecundity is preserved in the Romance languages, in which the word "engirdled," *enceinte* or *incinta*, means pregnant with child.⁹³

Undone, it signalled that a woman was available or ready for intercourse, and inability to do up the girdle was a signal that she had become pregnant. Mary was associated with this item of female attire and women were recommended for safe delivery to wear a girdle with the *Magnificat* inscribed upon it, as suggested in a fifteenth century work, 'to wryte the salme of Magnificath in a long scrow and gyrdet abowte her, and sche shall be delyvert.'⁹⁴ A girdle inscribed with the *Magnificat* was not as effective as the real thing. Various girdles of Mary were in demand as apotropaic items by women going into labour. England owned a number of Our Lady's girdles, which Waterton believes to have been either fragments of Pulcheria's Constantinople relic (see *Chapter One*) or were copies

which had touched the original and become 'sanctified' relics.⁹⁵ Waterton itemises them,

In the list of relics under the high altar at Windsor is mentioned *una zona alba S. Johis Evangelistae quam dedit Beatae Mariae*; at London, Leo de Rosmital saw a girdle of the Virgin Mother of God which she is said to have made with her own hands; a relic of the girdle of our Ladye was preserved in the Cluniac Abbey at Thetford, and a portion of the same was found inclosed in the head of the statue of our Ladye of Thetford; [...]Moreover, by the will dated August 26, 1463, Eufemia Langton, wife of Sir John Langton of Farnley, near Leeds, bequeathed to Margaret Meryng, her daughter, a silver-gilt cross, an Agnes Dei, and *zonam Beatae Mariae Virginis*.⁹⁶

One was housed at Westminster and was that 'which women with cheild were wont to girdle with.'⁹⁷ This was the girdle, believed to have been worn by the Virgin, which Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII, paid a religious house to use to ease her labour pains.⁹⁸ In the book of her privy-purse expenses, the following entry occurs on the 13th December, 1502,

Item. to a monke that brought oure Ladye gyrdelle to the quene in rewarde, vis. viiid.⁹⁹

The wedding ring in particular, as we have seen, was linked with sexual intercourse in the marriage liturgy and was that which remained the only visible sign of a woman's married status. Mary had worn a wedding ring, although illustrations of her wearing one are rare (see *Appendices 1* and *4*), medieval Europe could display several : the wedding ring which she had worn as Joseph's wife was kept at Chiusi in Tuscany, and according to Warner, it was not the only one.¹⁰⁰ Whilst the wedding rings bequeathed to statues of Mary may have been intended to adorn her fingers, the evidence suggests that they went into the store of wealth which that image had amassed. The only evidence we have of a statue of Anne being left a ring was accompanied by strict instruction about when and where she was to wear it. It is clear that *some* women did respond to Mary and

Anne as wives. Can we see the same response in the works written and read by women ?

Literary Evidence of female devotion to Mary and Anne as wives

Having seen that testamentary evidence suggests that some women responded to Mary and Anne as wives, we need now to examine if women wrote and read about Mary and Anne as wives. As with the testamentary evidence, women's literary words from this period are difficult but not impossible to find. Recently, Alexandra Barratt has compiled an anthology of works written by women between 1350 and 1530.¹⁰¹ Whilst the works which she includes show a great interest in Mary, none mention her marriage. The anthology contains no work devoted to Anne. This lack of interest in devotion to Mary and Anne as wives is a feature of another anthology, now called the Findern manuscript (Cambridge University Library MS Ff. 1. 6.). The Findern manuscript is an anthology of lyrics put together over some years in the fifteenth century by members of the Findern family of Derbyshire, their friends, relatives and servants. Some women's names appear in the manuscript; Margery hungerford, ffrances kruken, Elizabeth koton and Elisabet frauncys. Barrett suggests that they may have been principally scribes, but also observes that some of the lyrics are explicitly written from a woman's viewpoint.¹⁰² Again, the collection fails to contain any lyrics which mention Mary or Anne as wives.

Margery Kempe's words (recorded by amanuensis) offer a glimpse of her personal devotion to Anne and Mary. For Margery, who, we have seen, was permitted a spiritual marriage by her husband, John, Mary would have been an ideal marital exemplar to quote at every hurdle which Margery encountered in attempting to follow her proposed way of life. Margery, however, expresses no

such devotion nor recognition of the similarity in her marital situation and Mary's. When Margery does have a vision of St. Anne, Anne is in the advanced stages of pregnancy and permits Margery to become her maid and servant. Together they raise Mary whom Margery praises as the Mother of God.¹⁰³ It would seem that Margery responds to Anne and Mary as mothers rather than wives.

Personal letters promoting marriage alliances prove no better hunting grounds for mention of Mary or Anne as wives. The Pastons, the family of Norfolk gentry whom we have already met, wrote a number of letters concerning marriage negotiations.¹⁰⁴ Once again, neither Mary nor Anne appear as a marital exemplar, not even in the frosty letter sent by Margaret Paston to her elder son, John Paston II, in which she discusses the behaviour of her daughter, Margery, who, as we have seen, eloped with Richard Calle, the family bailiff.¹⁰⁵

And what of the written works which detail Mary and/or Anne's marriages as discussed above in *Chapter Two* ? Are any of these works associated with women, thus suggesting that they did respond to Mary and Anne as marital exemplar ?

We have seen that Anne Harling gave books as bequests to her nearest and dearest. The work of Felicity Riddy and Carol Meale has uncovered details of female book ownership in England between 1150 and 1500. Meale has remarked upon the interest of female readers in Lydgate's *LOL*: Dame Elizabeth Wyndesore (wife of Andrew Windsor of Stanwell, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe under Henry VIII) who died on 18 January, 1531, owned a copy of Lydgate's *LOL* as did Anne Andrew, wife of Sir Thomas Bouchier, and Jane Fitzlewis.¹⁰⁶ Thomasin Hopton, on her death in 1498 (having been married three times) left an

unidentified Life of the Blessed Virgin to her granddaughter and namesake, Thomasin Sidney.¹⁰⁷ The vowess, Cecily, Duchess of York and mother of Edward IV used to listen to the *MVC* and the *Legenda Aurea* during dinner.¹⁰⁸ Many of these women were married, often more than once. We cannot be sure, however, of *why* these women owned copies of the *LOL* or other Marian lives, nor have we any evidence that they responded to Mary's representation as a wife therein. The evidence of ownership of the *LOL* suggests, to the contrary, that it was also felt to be suitable reading for women who had rejected marriage and family as a way of life. A copy of Lydgate's *LOL* was bequeathed to a convent sister, Dame Pernelle Wrattisley, who lived at the Dominican priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Margaret at Dartford. It was,

of the gifte of Baron William, esquier to remayne for evyr to the nonyre of Dertforde and specially to the use of Dame Pernelle Wrattisley sister of the same place by licance of her abbas.¹⁰⁹

Baron William (d. 1485) may have hoped that Dame Pernelle and her sisters would have found profit in reading about Mary's life. Dartford was not the only convent to own a copy; the *LOL* (now London, British Library Additional MS 18632) was owned by the Benedictine nuns of the priory cell and abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Meilor in Amesbury, Wiltshire.

Whilst Thomas Hales and his translator may have written the *VSM* for women,¹¹⁰ only Osbern Bokenham's *Life of Anne* can be associated with any confidence with a female commissioner. Bokenham's *Life of Anne* was commissioned by Katherine Denston, wife of John and half-sister of John Clopton, of Long Melford in Suffolk. Gail McMurray Gibson has documented the particular devotion to Anne which the Clopton family expressed; John Clopton paid for, amongst other things, the installation of a St. Anne window and altar (to

which John Clopton bequeathed a fine red vestment) in Long Melford church, Clopton's own family chapel at his manor house of Lutons was dedicated to St. Anne and for many of the Clopton women their patron saint was recalled in their own first name (John Clopton's will names Anne Drury, Anne Poley, Anne Montgomery and Anne Gatis amongst his kin).¹¹¹ Clearly sharing her family's piety, in naming her own daughter Anne, Katherine leaves evidence of her own attachment to the mother of Mary. Indeed, it seems that by 1500, Anne was an extremely popular name, suggesting that Katherine was not alone in her piety towards Saint Anne and that, like Katherine, many mothers (and fathers) chose to name their daughter after a saint who was intimately connected with successful childbearing and lineage. Indeed, Warner has suggested that daughters and heirs to noble houses were possibly called after Anne because, 'they were hoped to be greatly fruitful, too, to found unshakeable, prolific dynasties : Anne's liturgical titles include *Stirps beata* (Blessed stock) and *Radix sancta* (Holy Root); her patronage implied fertility to a degree Mary's single conception could not.¹¹² Bokenham signals that Katherine's attachment to Anne is twofold; Katherine appears to have recognised in Anne a wifely devotion or love and an interest in creating a dynasty. Like Joachim and Anne, Katherine and John are a well-matched couple who appear to have found marital love and are concerned with lineage. Anne and Joachim may be read as Katherine and John,

[...] I [Joachim] wyl trewly
Telle þe [an angel] now euen lyk it is.
I loue my wyf, as affectually [deeply] as any man doþe his [...]
[...]
She toke heed of non oþer thyng
But of hyme alone, for in veraay blysse
Here þowte she was for his comynge.
& a-non she gan hym halsen[embrace] & kysse,
No ioye wenynge þat she myht mysse
Syth she hym hadde, & þus she gan crye :

'Welkecome, dere spouse, & god gramercy! [...]
(Bokenham, *Life of Anne*, ll. 1826 - 1829, 1966 - 1972)

The concern for lineage is suggested by the supplication to Anne with which Bokenham concluded the life which reads in the original Middle English;

Prouide, lady, eek þat Ion denstone
& Kateryne his wyf, if it plese þe grace
of god aboue, thorgh þi merytes a sone
of her body mow haue or they hens pace,
As they a dowghter han, yung & fayre of face,
Wyche is anne clepyde in worshype, lady, of þe
& aftyr to blysse eterne conuey hem alle thre.
A.M.E.N. lorde for charyte. (Bokenham, *Life of Anne*, ll. 2092 - 2099)

This concern with lineage is further demonstrated in the manuscript itself; at this point in the codex Ion denstone, kateryne and anne are underlined in black and a family tree is drawn in the margin:

John Densto[ne] = Katherina uxor eius
|
Anna filia

Gail McMurray Gibson has argued that,

[...] Bokenham wrote for Katherine Denston an incantational text invoking childbirthing grace and protection, invoking *from the saint of long-sought childbirth* - the saint who had been finally glorified with triumph over the womb - safe delivery of the male issue that Katherine (alas, fruitlessly) hoped would continue the name of Denston and the kin of Clopton.¹¹³ (emphasis my own)

Coming from a family especially concerned with dynasty, Katherine responded to Anne as an exemplar of marital love and lineage, as a Mother saint, matriarch and protectoress of childbirth. Katherine's motivation for appealing to St. Anne in this form may be found in the life experiences of the women close to Katherine; her mother, Margaret, had died young in 1420 and while she was still a child, her stepmother died giving birth to her stepsister.¹¹⁴ Her response suggests that Katherine internalised the teaching which Anne's representation as a wife could convey.

Of the illustrated works discussed in *Chapter Two*, only two Books of Hours are known to be associated with women. The *De Brailes Hours* was made in 1240 for a French speaking woman but more than that cannot be deduced from the codex. We can be more certain about the motivation behind the commissioning of the later *Bedford Hours* (1420s). The Book was made to celebrate the marriage of John of Lancaster (brother of Henry V) and Anne of Burgundy which took place on 13 May, 1423. The theme of marriage occurs in a number of places within the book. Janet Backhouse interprets the illustration (f. 288b) depicting the heavenly gift of the device of the fleur de lys (the royal arms of France) to Clovis who receives them on a shield from his wife, Clothilda, a Burgundian princess, as a symbol of marriage,

As Clothilda hands over the shield to Clovis, she is assisted by a male figure wearing a rather noticeable hat of green, white and black, apparently identifiable as the livery colours of the Dukes

[of Burgundy]. A tiny shield over the gateway of the building in which the event is taking place is charged with the lion of Flanders. These hints can be construed as references to the part played by Duke Philip [of Burgundy] in supporting Henry V at the time of the Treaty of Troyes, as a result of which the English king did in effect receive the fleurs de lys through his marriage to Catherine of France. But the same hints are perhaps even more relevant in the context of Bedford's own marriage, for his custody of the fleur de lys was supported by union with a contemporary Burgundian princess, Anne herself.¹¹⁵

Backhouse sees a second occurrence of a marriage theme in the portrayal of Anne of Burgundy on f. 275b, at the end of the codex. Anne of Burgundy is shown in the central image, with her patron saint and namesake, Saint Anne who is teaching the pre-pubescent Mary to read. The central image is surrounded by miniatures of the three husbands of Saint Anne and at the foot of the page are the three daughters which resulted from the marriages and their husbands. Backhouse interprets it thus:

Although the appearance of these characters is entirely in accordance with contemporary piety, and a similar composition appears in the Bedford Breviary, the stress on family relationships is

peculiarly important to Anne, given the long catalogue of diplomatically significant marriages within her immediate family circle. Her personal arms, motto and yew branch badge are incorporated at various places in the design of the page.¹¹⁶

The families arising from Anne (who was *Radix sancta*) may represent the hopes for Anne of Burgundy's future fertility. It is possible, I think, to read this image also as yet another example of Anne preparing her daughter for marriage, akin to those mentioned above; Christ is representative of the childbearing which inevitable followed marriage for most medieval women. Mary is portrayed as a young girl who is wearing a crown (as well as nimbed), standing beside her mother and turning the pages of the book from which Saint Anne reads. Anne of Burgundy was eighteen when she married John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, in 1423 but the alliance had been suggested as early as October 1419, when Anne would have been fourteen¹¹⁷; the age at which Mary appears to have been represented in the illustration. Anne too may have learned of marriage through instruction from her own mother. It is possible also that the illustrator knew of the continental vogue for *Anna Selbdritt* in Germany, *Anna te Drieën* in Dutch, or *Anna Samotrzecia* in Polish, meaning 'Anne herself the third'. The image can be portrayed in one of two ways; either the Christchild between Anne and Mary and touching both or, as in Anne of Burgundy's Hours, Anne with the Christchild and a small Mary reading a book.¹¹⁸ The purpose of this image was to recall the lineage of Christ through his mother and grandmother and if this configuration is being recalled here, yet again marriage and lineage (in Anne of Burgundy's case diplomatically rather than salvifically significant) are foregrounded in the illustration.

We cannot be sure that Anne of Burgundy had any input into how she was to be portrayed in her donor portrait. It is unlikely, however, that a woman like the Duchess of Bedford would have been unaware that she was, in part, a marriage

pawn and the genetrix of a dynasty. Anne of Burgundy may well have remembered the marital instruction given to her at her mother's knee when Anne was fourteen, at the start of her own marriage negotiations and therefore connected herself with Mary, receiving vital information about the institution which would change and, in childbearing, may even threaten her own life. Saint Anne's multiple marriages were spiritually significant ; those of women like Anne of Burgundy were diplomatically so. Anne of Burgundy may well have made the connection and have responded to the teaching about lineage which Saint Anne's representation as a wife could convey; on f. 257b we see Saint Anne, Mary and Christ portrayed in matrilineal descent, along with Anne's other two daughters with their husbands. In the margins of f. 258 we see Mary Cleophas' sons : James, Simon, Jude and Joseph the Just and in the roundels on f. 258b Mary Salome's sons, James and John. Unlike her patron saint, Anne of Burgundy never had the opportunity to marry more than once for she predeceased her husband, at the relatively young age of twenty-nine.

It would seem that Saint Anne proved a stimulating exemplar to Anne of Burgundy and Katherine Denston. Anne of Burgundy may have seen a connection between Saint Anne's participation in marriage for reasons other than the personal; in Saint Anne's case she was participating in God's salvific schema and in Anne's, the peace between England and France. Both Annes shared the distinction of being a genetrix of a dynasty, a distinction which Anne of Burgundy did not live to fulfil. Katherine Denston's connection with Saint Anne was also one based on dynastic concerns, but in addition, like Saint Anne, Katherine knew marital love and a shared experience of mothering and its potential disappointments (the wanting and waiting for a child).

Evidence of women following Mary and Anne's example as wives

Having examined the written and pictorial evidence of women's responses to Mary and Anne as marital exemplar, we need to revisit briefly the women from the central Middle Ages whose names have already appeared in our study of medieval marital mores and assess whether or not they responded to Mary and/or Anne in the ways that they celebrated and lived out their married lives. They can be no more than representative but do cover a range of women who lived between the thirteenth century and the close of the central Middle Ages; peasants, the merchant class, aristocracy and Queens, the unmarried, the once-married, the thrice widowed and adulteresses.

Adelina Modi of Hill in Halesowen, who was amerced in 1294 for an extra-marital pregnancy, certainly did not follow the example of the mother of God (see *chapter three*, note 160). Neither did Joan, the 'Fair Maid of Kent' in her marriage to Sir Thomas Holland nor Margery Paston in her marriage to Richard Calle : neither women had an arranged marriage of which their families approved nor were they married in the kind of public ceremony which Mary and Anne were shown to have undergone. In thirteenth century Bury, Beatrice of Ely at Lane's End, wife of Peter of Soham, was known to have committed adultery with John of Mote as did Elizabeth Calaber, wife of Roger, of Beaconsfield in Buckingham. In contrast, Margery Kempe did finally achieve a chaste or spiritual marriage, like that of Mary, with the agreement of her husband John. Margery, however, did not make any link between her own spiritual marriage and that lived out by the Virgin Mary. Like Saint Anne, many widows remarried on the death of their first spouse, some marrying for a third time, such as Anne Harling of Norfolk. If any of these widows saw themselves as replicating the behaviour of St. Anne, they have left us

no testimony of this. We do have evidence, however, that Anne of Burgundy made a connection between herself and her patron saint as founders of dynasties and that Katherine Denston prayed to Anne for help with this role, for, having produced a daughter she still had to produce a male heir.

Conclusions

To sum up: the representors of Mary and Anne's marriage celebrations and of Mary and Anne as wives were using images that could function effectively as memory images, as *aides mémoire*. These images could achieve a number of things: they could provide theoretical instruction concerning the spiritual value of marriage and of its nature, practical lessons about the Church's ideal of marriage celebration and teaching in the Church's conception of *proper wifedom*. Mary was employed to instruct that the ideal wife was one who was chaste, silent and obedient whilst Anne could convey the importance of marital love and lineage. Throughout the period 1200 to 1540, representations of Mary and Anne as wives were employed by a number of male clerics as both a descriptive and prescriptive paradigm for marriage formation, its celebration and female roles therein.

Women appear to have responded to these saints when they focused their own life crises. Some women bequeathed their wedding rings and intimate personal objects to either Mary or Anne; of these objects, the gowns, girdles and rings were associated with the most intimate, womanly aspect of being a wife, that of childbearing which was, and remains, that aspect of wifedom which is life-threatening. Anne of Burgundy left a record of her perceived association with Saint Anne as a wife who was genetrix of a large and important family. Katherine Denston's devotion to the Mother of Mary stemmed from Katherine's association between her own desire for a male heir and Saint Anne's heartbreak of a twenty

year childless marriage, with its accompanying sense of stigmatisation, failure and anxiety; it is an obvious case where a similarly circumstanced woman calls to Saint Anne feeling that the saint 'understood.' This is a type of devotion we can readily see as coming out of women's actual experience rather than theorised by the male theologians. In terms of response to the lessons which Mary and Anne's wedding ceremonies could convey about the proper way of celebrating a marriage, by and large, the laity continued to celebrate them as they had always done so; whilst celebration *in facie ecclesiae* was promoted it never became absolute in our period. In terms of response to Mary as an exemplar of proper wifehood, that is, as a chaste, silent and obedient wife, women in this period are eloquent in their silence, whilst response to Anne as exemplar of love and lineage appears to have appealed to only a very few women. The success of the images of Mary and Anne as wives was indeed, very limited.

Chapter 5 : Notes

1. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge , 1990), chapter 1. These theories reached the medieval scholiasts via reproductions of Cicero's *De Oratorio* and twelfth century commentaries on another first century B.C. text, the anonymous *Ad. C. Herennium Libri IV* (c. 86 - 82 B.C.)
2. Albertus Magnus (c. 1200 - c. 1280) wrote of *memoria* as a part of the virtue of Prudentia (Prudence). Albertus believed that a memory image included *intentio* (intention) in it, as is explained by Yates, '[...] an image chosen, say to remind of the virtue of Justice will contain the *intentio* of seeking to acquire this virtue.' Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul , 1966), p. 64.
3. Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 71.
4. Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 76.
5. His work has survived in two fifteenth century manuscripts, London, British Library MS Sloane 3744, fols. 7v - 9r and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean MS 169, fols. 254 - 6.
6. Carruthers, *Memory*, Appendix C, pp. 281 - 2.
7. Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 6.
8. Bradwardine is borrowing from the *Ad Herennium*, III, xxii as quoted in Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 10.
9. As translated from Hugh of St. Victor's *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum* by Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 264 .

10. The work of Michael Camille has been particularly significant in this area. He has questioned how pictures were read in the image-explosion of the central Middle Ages in 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200 - 1400,' in J. Alexander and P. Binski, eds., *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200 - 1400* (London : Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 33 - 40.
11. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 222.
12. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 222.
13. Michael Clanchy has analysed the movement from memory to written record in England up to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Clanchy sees an increasing reliance on written record but believes that orality and memory remained important within medieval culture and that there was a continuance of pre-literate mentality, 'Outside the King's court and great monastic houses, property rights and all other knowledge of the past had traditionally and customarily been held in the living memory. When historical information was needed, local communities resorted to [...] the oral wisdom of their elders and remembrancers. [...] By Edward I's reign [1272 -1307], memory, whether individual or collective, if unsupported by clear, written evidence, was ruled out of court.' M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066 - 1307* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 2-3.
14. Yates, *Art of Memory*, p. 52.
15. Carruthers, *Memory*, pp. 221 - 2.
16. Tristram and James, *Wall Paintings in Croughton Church*, p. 181.
17. Tristram and James, *Wall Paintings in Croughton Church*, p. 181.
18. Wayment, *Stained Glass of Fairford*, pp. 10 - 11.
19. Hamand, *Ancient Windows*, p. 86.
20. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 242.
21. Carruthers, *Memory*, pp. 248 - 9.
22. An interesting aspect of the use of 'neighbours' in the drama, is the possibility that a woman may have played Mary's part. The presence of women in medieval drama has remained relatively unexplored. At Chester the 'wurshipfful wyffys' of the town bound themselves to bring forth the pageant of the Assumption of the Virgin. This pageant was a regular part of the Chester cycle until it was excised at the Reformation. The wives acted the this play separately in 1488 before Lord Strange, and again in 1515. See W. W. Greg, ed., *The Trial and Flagellation, with Other studies in the Chester Cycle*, The Malone Society Studies (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 137, 170 - 1. F. M. Salter, *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1955), pp. 50, 70 - 1. Women belonged to the religious gilds responsible for plays, for example the York Paternoster gild, and the Norwich St. Luke's gild, and participated to some extent in the trade guilds. See Karl Young, 'The Records of the York Play of the Pater Noster,' *Speculum* 7 (1932), 544. Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *York Plays* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. xxviii - xxxix. Harold C. Gardiner, *Mysteries End*, Yale Studies in English, volume 103 (New Haven, Connecticut : Yale University Press, 1946), p. 42. Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 55 - 69. If Mary and Joseph were played by a woman and a man, the effect would be more 'realistic' and therefore possibly even more memorable than if both roles were played by men.
23. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 104, note. 883.
24. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 87.
25. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 87.
26. Carruthers, *Memory*, p. 286.
27. As quoted in Teresa Coletti, 'Purity and Danger : The Paradox of Mary's Body and the Engendering of the Infancy Narratives in the English Mystery Cycles' in Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia : University of Pensylvania Press, 1993), 65 - 95 (p. 67).

28. As quoted in Margaret Hallissy, *Clean Maids, True Wives, Steadfast Widows : Chaucer's Women and Medieval Codes of Conduct* (Westport, Connecticut and London : Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 43.

29. T. Coletti, 'Purity and Danger,' p. 68.

30. The presentation of Joseph as a bemoaning and somewhat feeble old man is at odds with the later development of devotion to Joseph. This devotion appears to have started with the excising of the details of Joseph's former marriage and sons, in an endeavour to promote the virginity of the step-father of God and which culminated in the reconstruction of Joseph in the late medieval period, as in the sermon of Jean Gerson (1363 - 1429 : Chancellor of the University of Paris, 1395), which reads in translation thus :

To confirm the perpetual virginity of Mary and to preserve the idea of a most chaste and modest cohabitation, it is necessary to believe Joseph feeble [the word 'frigid' is used here] when he married Mary, she being adolescent at the time. It was, moreover, possible for the Holy Spirit to preserve his chastity through the repression or extinction of original desire whether he was a very old man or a mature man. Now it seems to me that everyone knows an aged man - some 70 or 80 years old - who perished pursuing vile and base pleasures through shameful designs [...] After all, he who feels the virtue of grace knows that he cannot continue to exist unless it is willed by God. Thus, I think, Joseph to have been young just as Isidore places the end of youth at the twenty-eighth year when adolescence ends, up to the age of fifty when old age begins. Hence Joseph was first bethrothed when he was under the age of fifty.'

Joseph is said to have married Mary when he was aged between thirty and fifty. Gerson succeeded in establishing a feast day honouring the marriage of Mary and Joseph. In 1429, the feast day was added to the Roman calendar by Sixtus IV, who officially sanctioned March 19 as St. Joseph's feast day. Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother : Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Marle Virtue,' in J. Carmi Parsons and B. Wheeler, eds., *Medieval Mothering* (New York and London : Garland Publishing Inc., 1996), 101 - 116 (p. 109). The *N.Town Mary Play* in its treatment of Joseph as a God-fearing man who has never been married and who never doubts Mary is closer to this later veneration of Joseph.

31. Beadle and King, *York Mystery Plays*, pp. 48 - 58 : 'Joseph's Trouble About Mary', ll. 103, 158, 167, 177, 187, 198, 207.

32. A. C. Cawley, *Everman and Medieval Miracle Plays* (London : Dent, 1956, reprint 1974), p. 75.

33. Meredith, *The Mary Play*, p. 1.

34. Happé, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 223, l. 44.

35. Goldberg, *Women in England*, p. 143.

36. Goldberg, *Women in England*, p. 143.

37. K. Ashley, 'Medieval Courtesy Literature and dramatic mirrors of female conduct', in *The Ideology of Conduct. Essays in Literature and the History of Sexuality*, ed., Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (London and New York : Methuen, 1987), 27 - 38.

38. Ashley, 'Medieval Courtesy Literature,' p. 27.

39. Ashley, 'Medieval Courtesy Literature,' p. 27.

40. Ashley, 'Medieval Courtesy Literature,' p. 27.

41. Wright, *Book of the Knight*, p. 148 - 9.

42. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 387.

43. Mary is recognised in Christian literature as a source : watching her son grow up she 'kept all these sayings in her heart ' (Luke 2 : 51). It was understood by exegetes that she subsequently became the teacher of the Evangelists, especially Luke and John. The apocryphal letters purporting to represent an exchange of correspondence between St. Ignatius, Mary and St. John (which was widely circulated in the Middle Ages) suggest that this picture of Mary as teacher was of some importance to women. Her claim to special knowledge is twofold: she is the humble

one who has been exalted, a classic strategy for women writers, particularly prophets, and she has special knowledge derived from eyewitness observation. [...] It is also noteworthy that the apocryphal letters (only) are translated into Spanish in the fifteenth century, by a notably strong-minded woman, Constanza de Castilla, princess and Dominican nun [...] from Ronald E. Surtz, *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain. The Mothers of St. Theresa of Avila* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 50 - 52.

44. Gies and Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages*, p. 132.

45. Gies and Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages*, p. 134.

46. In her article on the image of Saint Anne teaching Mary to read Wendy Scase demonstrates how this image was used in the controversy over the Immaculate Conception, Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin : Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications,' in Nicholas Rogers, ed., *England in the Fourteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford : Paul Watkins, 1993), 81 - 96 (p. 81).

47. Ashley, 'Image and Ideology,' p. 120.

48. Ashley, 'Image and Ideology,' p. 121.

49. Ashley, 'Image and Ideology,' p. 121.

50. Ashley, 'Image and Ideology,' p. 121.

51. *Mirk 's Festial : a Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk), Part I*, ed., T. Erbe, EETS 96 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905), p. 216.

52. J. H. Blunt, ed., *The Myroure of Oure Ladye containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service with a translation of the Offices used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, EETS ES 19 (London : N. Trübner & Co., 1873).

53. Blunt, *Myroure*, p. xvi.

54. Blunt, *Myroure*, p. xv.

55. Blunt, *Myroure*, pp. viii - ix .

56. Blunt, *Myroure*, p. ix.

57. Pamela Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship,' p. 170.

58. Ton Brandenburg, 'Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother,' p. 41.

59. Brandenburg, 'Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother,' pp. 41 - 43.

60. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship,' p. 171.

61. E. Duffy, ' Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes : The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England,' *Studies in Church History*, Volume XXVII (1990), 175 - 196 (p. 193).

62. Duffy, ' Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes,' p. 196. Illustration of *The Holy Kinship* was very popular in Europe and have survived in some quantity as the following examples demonstrate; from Germany, the painting by the Follower of the Master of Saint Veronica, *Holy Kinship*, Cologne, 1420, the painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Holy Kinship*, the centre panel of *Saint Anne or Togau Altarpiece*, c. 1509, a wooden sculpture, the *Holy Kinship*, probably from a church near Weimar, c. 1510, the painting by Gert van Lon, *Holy Kinship*, centre panel of *Holy Kinship alterpiece*, Münster, 1510-20, from France, an illumination by Jean Fouquet, *Saint Anne and Three Marys* from the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, Paris, c. 1450, all of which may be found reproduced in Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp. 188, 186, 26, 175, and 174 respectively. From Poland the *Trypyk Rodziny Marii (The Tryptych of the Holy Kinship)*, a wooden carved retable from Silesia, 1500, showing Anne, Mary and her two sisters with children (Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome are holding books and teaching their children to read), the Master of Warta Altarpiece, *Holy Kinship*, including saints Catherine and Margaret, Great Poland, c. 1520, the *Rodzina Matki Boskiej or Holy Kinship*, St. Michael's Church, Lublin, early 16th century, Anne surrounded by her daughters, their husbands and children, all of whom are dressed as very wealthy merchants and their wives. Each member of the Holy Kinship is

identified by a scroll bearing his or her name. The Netherlands produced such images also; Jan Baegert (1465 - c. 1530), *The Holy Family*, panel painting as reproduced in Dresen-Coenders, *Saints and she-devils*, p. 127, as did Belgium, an example of which is Quinten Massys (1465/56-1530), the Triptych of the Confraternity of St. Anne, Louvain, now in the Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

63. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship,' p. 182.

64. Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship,' p. 182. The relevant section of Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500 - 1800* (New York : Harper and Row, 1977) is pages 85 - 93.

65. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 81.

66. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 84.

67. In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 939, a calendar of saints dated c.1370, Anne holds Mary, who is holding forth an a.b.c., whilst in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 765, a psalter of English origin dated c.1345, known as the Fitzwarin Psalter, Mary stands holding with both hands a book on whose pages is written 'Domine labia mea aperies.' and on a fourteenth century alter-panel of English origin, now in the Musée de Cluny (Paris), Anne stands behind Mary who reads an open book the text of which is 'Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam quia concupit rex speciem.' Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' pp. 91-2, 94 -5.

68. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 87.

69. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 96.

70. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 88. Epiphanius' work, called in Latin *Sermo De Vita Sanctissimae Deiparae* can be found in PG 120, cols. 185 - 216.

71. Epiphanius' Greek life was translated into Latin prose in the twelfth century by Paschalis of Rome and the translation is known to us in one manuscript, Oxford, Balliol College MS 227, a book of Italian origin from the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century which was known in England before 1361 and has been at Balliol College since the fourteenth century. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 89.

72. Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin,' p. 90.

73. John Carmi Parsons, 'Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power : Some Plantagenet Evidence 1150 - 1500,' in *Medieval Queenship*, ed., John Carmi Parsons (Stroud : Alan Sutton, 1994), chapter 5.

74. The work is available in MS Lambeth Palace 853, Furnivall, ed., *The Babees Book*, EETS OS 32 (London : Trübner, 1868) and in translation in Goldberg, *Women in England*, pp. 97 - 103.

75. James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia, Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume 4* (Durham : Andrew and Company, 1869), p. 155.

76. Nightgowns in the sixteenth century were loose, comfortable garments worn informally, in the evening. They were sometimes made of rich material, such as velvet or silk but were lined with something warm. They were, therefore, as appears to be the case with Anne Harling's gift to Joan, high status garments. See Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds : Maney, 1988).

77. Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 152.

78. F. J. Furnivall, *Church of England Province of Canterbury Prerogative Courts. The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London 1387*, EETS OS 78 (London : Trübner and Company, 1882), pp. 117 - 8.

79. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, p. 117.

80. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, p. 118.

81. Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 257.

82. McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, pp. 85 - 86.

83. Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 153.

84. Samuel Tymms, *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society series I, no. 49 (London : J. B. Nicholls and Son, 1850), p. 95. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady*, p. 46 notes that Anne Baret's gift was 'amongst the other humbler gifts at this time [...].'
85. McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, pp. 72 - 79.
86. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady*, p. 46.
87. F. W. Weaver, ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills (Second Series) 1501 - 1530 with some Somerset Wills preserved at Lambeth*, Somerset Record Society, Volume 19 (London : Printed for the Subscribers only , 1903), p. 2.
88. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills*, p. 261.
89. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills*, p. 268.
90. W. H. Godfrey, *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, vol. II, Volume XLII of *Sussex Records Society* (1937), pp. 269, 27 and 144.
91. Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370 - 1532*, (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 66, 1984), p. 128.
92. Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, p. 201.
93. Warner, *Alone*, p. 279.
94. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana*, p. 91 and p. 207.
95. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana*, p. 90.
96. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana*, p. 90 - 91.
97. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400 - 1580* (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1992), p. 384.
98. Anderson and Zinsser, *A History of Their Own*, p. 294.
99. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana*, p. 91.
100. Warner, *Alone*, p. 294.
101. Alexandra Barratt, ed., *Women's Writing in Middle English* (London and New York : Longman, 1992).
102. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 268. The Findern Manuscript may be compared with the Devonshire Manuscript, now London, British Library Additional 17492. The Devonshire manuscript was put together by women associated with the court of Anne Boleyn in the 1530s and contains a mixture of women's compositions with poems copied from external sources, including Sir Thomas Wyatt, then contemporary, but also Chaucer.
103. Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 53. Ross suggests that Mary presents herself to Margery as Margery's spiritual mother and also as a teacher : 'Dowtyr, I am thy modyr, þi lady, and thy maystres for to teche þe in al wyse how þu shalt plese God best.' and that Mary is guiding Margery in the spiritual life, providing, along with Mary Magdalene, a model for Margery's commitment to crying in response to the suffering of Jesus Christ, as quoted by Ross, *The Grief of God*, p. 119. The Virgin's grief over her suffering son is maternal and hence her title, the Mater Dolorosa.
104. These letters are printed in Barrett, *Women's Writing*, pp. 242 - 254. They are as follows :
 1469 Margaret Paston to her son John Paston II (concerning his sister Margery's elopement with bailiff Richard Calle.)
 1470 Margaret Paston to her younger son John Paston III
 1477 Dame Elizabeth Brews to John Paston III.
105. Barrett, *Women's Writing*, pp. 242 - 6.
106. Dame Elizabeth owned the copy of *LOL* (Oxford Bodleian Library Hatton 73), Anne Andrew, that which is now Oxford Bodleian Ashmole 39 and Jane Fitzlewis that which became Durham University Library Cosin V. II. Carol Meale, '... alle the bokes that I haue of laytn, englich, and frensch' : laywomen and their books in late medieval England' in Carol Meale, ed.,

Women and Literature in Britain 1150 - 1500 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1993, reprint 1996), p. 152, note 44.

¹⁰⁷. Felicity Riddy, 'Women talking about the things of God' : a late medieval sub-culture' in Meale, *Women and Literature*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁸. Riddy, 'Women talking,' p. 110.

¹⁰⁹. The manuscript is now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 322. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, second edition, p. 57.

¹¹⁰. Horrall, *Lyf of Oure Lady*, p. 26.

¹¹¹. For details of the Clopton piety see McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, pp. 79 - 96 and p. 197, note 61.

¹¹². Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 88.

¹¹³. McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 107.

¹¹⁴. McMurray Gibson, 'The Religion of Childbed,' p. 104.

¹¹⁵. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, p. 33.

¹¹⁶. Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, p. 37.

¹¹⁷. A political marriage between one of Henry V's brothers and a sister of the new Duke of Burgundy had been suggested as early as October 1419, during Anglo-Burgundian negotiations preceding the Treaty of Troyes, Backhouse, *The Bedford Hours*, p. 8. As by 1419, John was the elder of the two surviving brothers of Henry V, it seem probable that he was the brother who was suggested. Anne was one of the younger and therefore unmarried, sisters of Phillip of Burgundy and so she too seems the likely candidate for the marriage proposed in 1419.

¹¹⁸. These images of 'Anne herself the third' are quite common in Europe, produced in different media, as the following examples illustrate; from Germany, Lucas Cranach the Elder's woodcut from the *Heiligtumsbuch*, Berlin, 1509, the painting by the Master of Frankfurt, *Saint Anne with the Virgin and the Christ Child*, 1510 - 1515, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., reproductions of both of which can be found in Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp. 22 and 176 respectively, from Poland the wooden figures of Anne with Mary and Christ Sw. Anna Samotrzecia (Saint Anne Threesome) from Pomerania, c.1500 and Silesia, c. 1500 both of which may be seen at the National Museum, Warsaw and from the Netherlands, the woodcut illustrating the front cover of Jan van Denemarken's *Die Historie, die Ghetiden ende die Exempelen van der Heyligher Vrouwen Sint Annen*, Antwerp 1496 and the wooden figures of *Saint Anne Trinity*, c. 1500 both of which are reproduced in Mulder-Bakker, *Sanctity and Motherhood*, pp. 37 and 49 respectively.

Conclusions

Interest in Mary and Anne as wives was an aspect of medieval English spirituality between 1200 and the Reformation. Few of the early Church Fathers had concerned themselves with the fact of Mary's marriage and if they did, it was to stress Mary's perpetual virginity which was crucial in establishing Christ's Divine paternity. In the early Church Mary was not worshipped as a married woman also because, as Peter Brown has stated,

Mary had come to be treated as the privileged exemplar of the virgin state. If she had merely conceived Christ while a virgin, and then gone on, her miraculous role completed, to become an ordinary woman, a *mulier*, the wife of Joseph and the mother of his children begotten by ordinary intercourse, her example would lose much of its power to protect young virgin girls.¹

By the central Middle Ages, most Christians were no longer encouraged to lead an ascetic life. For those who did, their lives were to be lived out behind monastery or convent walls and were closely regulated by the Church. For the majority, their lives were moulded by marriage. From the twelfth century, this state was more positively promoted; marriage liturgies were developed and marriage became one of the sacraments of the New Covenant and thus a grace-giving state. Indeed, Marc Glasser has argued that this change by the Church to a more positive attitude towards marriage even affected hagiography,

The new view of the healthiness and holiness of Christian marriage, in all its facets, as worked out by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholastic theologians and canonists also inspired hagiographers to find model lives for all Christendom in the careers of married women and men.²

This can be seen in relation to the hagiographies of Mary and Anne; during the central Middle Ages one can detect a raising of the profile and shift in attitude towards Mary as a wife, and an interest in Anne's marital history, as the cultus of the mother of Mary evolved.

Although the Church promoted marriage, its social practice was not as regulated as it may have wished - the volume of cases appearing before the Church courts requiring clandestine and/or disputed marriages be ratified evinces that the laity required some form of marital instruction. The Church needed to disseminate the doctrine underpinning Christian marriage formation, as formulated by the canon lawyers and to control the actual celebration of the union. Mary and Joseph's marriage was employed by some to reinforce the ecclesiastical ideal of marriage formation and celebration on a laity accustomed to look to Mary for guidance.

The Church was fortunate that since the Conquest, largely due to the efforts of the Worcester monks, the narrative of Mary's marriage had been disseminated via Latin copies and then vernacular translations of the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew*. The faithful knew that she had married. This had taken place when Mary was twelve (according to the *Protevangelion* and *Pseudo-Matthew* (B) fourteen in *Pseudo-Matthew* (A) and the *Evangelium*) which was the minimum age at which the Church permitted women to wed.

By the central Middle Ages Marian devotion had already demonstrated that, as a symbol, Mary was capable of accreting new facets of devotion and, as such a powerful, devotional icon, she was able to change people's lives and the practice of their lives. By detailing *why* Mary and Joseph had married and explaining her participation in the married state, clerics were able to raise the profile of marriage. To maintain that the Church *en masse* positively promoted Mary as marital exemplar in a regimented programme of marital instruction, however, is an overstatement. Rather, Mary was present and accommodated into the scholastic doctrinal debates concerning the nature and formation of marriage, often with

some difficulty. When marital doctrine had to be disseminated to the marrying laity for whom it was intended, *some but not all* parish priests and clerics chose to use Mary as the descriptive and prescriptive paradigm for marriage formation. Through Mary's example and using the genres of sermon, hagiography, temporale poetry, instruction manuals, verse narrative and drama, clerics taught men and women about the nature of marriage and the purpose and management of coitus therein. Thanks to the lack of description in the apocryphal narratives of Mary's wedding ceremony, representors were able to portray Mary and Anne as participating in contemporary wedding ceremonies, thus they were able also to teach the correct way in which to celebrate a marriage; *in facie ecclesiae*. Some writers, such as the author of *Tretys or N.town Mary Play* went further, recalling for their audience those words of the marriage liturgy appropriate to the union of Mary and Joseph. Finally, as a wife, Mary was useful in teaching patriarchal expectations of women's behaviour in this role; like Mary, the medieval wife was to be chaste, silent and obedient.

Anne too was connected with marriage in England. Indeed, the Feast of St. Anne (26 July) was established formally in England specifically to celebrate a wedding: that of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia. Whenever Saint Anne's marriage to Joachim is mentioned, one learns of their happy, faithful union and of their suitability (both in terms of personality and social rank) to each other, something that might be claimed of Richard and Anne's marriage, in spite of public opposition to the Queen.³ In contrast to Mary who was used as an exemplar for the chaste, silent and obedient wife, Anne appears as an ideal exemplar for the human, companionable aspects of marital union and the importance of lineage and childbearing, the latter emphasised through an understanding that Anne had

married *three* times and on each occasion her marriage had been fruitful and spiritually blessed, producing key figures in God's salvific schema. In the only representation of Anne and Joachim's wedding ceremony which I have been able to discover (Malvern stained glass), Anne, like Mary, can be seen to be replicating the Church's ideal wedding ceremony.

The representors of Mary and Anne as wives and of their wedding ceremonies may have had every confidence in the success of their instruction; Mary was already a powerful symbol for lay devotion and had been seen to be capable of accreting new significance as Marian devotion developed. Devotion to Saint Anne was growing steadily, particularly amongst the wealthy merchants of Norfolk. Also, representations of Mary and Anne as wives and of their wedding celebration had the capability of functioning effectively as a memory image according to medieval memory theory and could be used to jog the laity's minds concerning the Church's ideal of marriage formation and celebration.

Our examination of real women's words and devotional practices, as well as their marital practice, indicates that, by and large, women did *not* respond either to Mary or to Anne when represented as wives. There are some notable exceptions ; the women who willed their gowns and girdles, rosaries and wedding rings, and in particular the piety of Joan Chamberlain, Anne of Burgundy and Katherine Denston towards Saint Anne is noteworthy. But these women remain exceptions. Why was women's response to Mary and Anne in these roles so limited ? The answer may lie in that, for women, these roles were so *limiting*.

Mary's marriage is either discussed as a point of academic information (such as Shoreham's discussion of it in *De Matrimonio*) or if the ceremony is depicted (in visual or written form) Mary appears in a 'performative' manner akin to a

mannequin; as participant in a marriage celebration, as speaker of vows, as wearer of a ring. One can move her, place her in the correct positions and locale for a wedding and give her the appropriate speaking part but Mary is always absent as a three-dimensional character. When Mary is presented as a wife, she is presented in terms of stasis; frozen in time and text and voiceless, literally in the visual arts and metaphorically in written works in the sense that the little she does say is often reported to the reader / listener through the male mediating voice of the narrator. With the exception of the *N.town Mary Play* where a speaking part forces some response from her, when her marriage is portrayed it is as if Mary is emotionally absent, the true Stepford wife. What Mary represents as a wife was at the core of women's subordinate status in medieval society; a wife was to be chaste, silent and obedient, like Mary to be in the 'care' of her husband, which in legal and social terms meant that she had few rights.⁴

It is of little surprise that women failed to respond enthusiastically to Mary's representation as a wife; even in the central Middle Ages, who wanted to live in an a-sexual marriage meekly obeying her husband ? Mary's representation as a wife was a male-created vision reproducing ideology for the benefit and perpetuation of patriarchy: marriage was to be Church controlled, was to give the woman into the power of her husband, was to encode and control her (and admittedly his) sexuality (on certain days, in certain positions and preferably for the procreation of children only and definitely *no* adultery). The evidence from Barratt's anthology of writing by women suggests that they were not interested in the 'Holy Housewife' but rather in Mary's one moment of power that linked her directly with them; in her childbearing. This is something which Joan Ferrante has observed in European texts composed for and by women,

[...] What is particularly striking in the letters and in texts commissioned by women is how much women, even those playing male roles in secular government or rising above their sex in their religious lives, are aware of themselves as women and identify with powerful or effective, not oppressed, women in history - with Mary as queen of heaven or mother of God [...] ⁵

As Divine Mother Mary accomplished the one act which all men, however pious or saintly, simply could not replicate : Mary successfully carries and bears a son. For medieval women, this dutiful act was not without personal hazard; one should not underestimate the significance of successful childbirth to married women. We have a textual memory of what must have happened to many pregnant women of all social groups, when Gottfried von Strassburg in c. 1210, describes the death of Queen Blanche of Navarre in childbirth:

She twisted and turned and writhed, this way, that way, to and fro, and continued so until, with much labour she bore a little son. But see, it lived, and she lay dead. ⁶

The reality of this fear can be seen in the early death of Mary of Bohun, wife of Henry IV and remembered in the prayers of the Bridgettines of Sion, who had her first child at the age of thirteen and who died in 1394 at the age of twenty-four, giving birth to her seventh. A woman could lose her life in attempting to carry out the social/biological role determined for her, and might even be refused burial in holy ground because she was still thought to be contaminated by the bodily fluids of lustful generation that might desecrate the churchyard, ⁷ yet being the mother of children who grow up to continue the line was evidently the centre of what they and their husbands thought they were *for*; her status and the chance to be the centre of attention was predicated on successful childbearing. In her hour(s) of need, '[...] the only people whom a pregnant medieval woman could turn to (*except to her patron saint*) and who could sympathise with her were other women.' ⁸ (emphasis my own). Mary successfully carried and bore a son and duly became the centre of attention of her husband, shepherds, kings and the whole of

Christendom; not a bad audience. This is the Mary with whom Margery Kempe wishes to associate herself but feels unworthy when she states,

The blysfyl chyld [Mary] passyd away for a certeyn tyme, the creature [Margery herself] being styll in contemplacyon, and sythen cam ageyn and seyde, 'Dowter, now am I become the modyr of God.' And than the creature fel down on hire kneys wyth gret reverens and gret wepyng and seyde, ' I am not worthy, lady, to do yow servys.' 'Yys, dowtyre,' sche seyde, 'folwe thow me, thi servys lykyth me wel.'⁹

Mary herself confirms the association by instructing Kempe to follow her and in another vision, Margery follows Mary to Bethlehem and begs swaddling clothes in which Mary may wrap Jesus and provided bedding for Mary to lie in after the birth.¹⁰ Having had fourteen children herself, Margery Kempe was fully aware of the material goods required for a woman's confinement.

Mary as Mother of God was also the focus of Eleanor Percy's *Prayer*. The *Oratio Elionore Percie Ducissa Buckhammie*, a macaronic verse prayer, has survived on the final pages of the Book of Hours, now British Library Arundel MS 318, f. 152 r-v and is believed by its editor, Barratt, to have been written out by Anne Arundel, Eleanor's sister.¹¹ Eleanor was the daughter of Henry Percy, Duke of Northumberland; in 1500 she married Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham (1478 - 1521) who was executed on concocted charges of treason by Henry VIII, to whom she bore a son and three daughters.¹² Her prayer begins as follows :

Gawde, Vergine and mother beinge
To Criste Jhesu, bothe God and Kinge.
By the blissed eyare [ear] him consevinge.

Gabrielis nuncio [by Gabriel's message]

Gawde, Vergine off all humylytie,
Showinge to us thy sonnes humanitie
Whan he without paine borne was of the

In pudoris lilio [in the lily of chastity]¹³

Eleanor, herself a mother of four, praises Mary's motherhood and its difference from her own; Mary's childbirth was painless. Where Eleanor mentions the Virgin 'showinge to us' Christ's humanity, might it be a recollection of her own showing off of her firstborn, a son and heir, to his proud father ?

Further evidence of a female attachment to Mary as Mother can be found in the late medieval churching of women ritual and its association with the Feast of Mary's Purification. The churching ritual itself is described in detail by Gail McMurray Gibson,

[...] a new mother was isolated from the community during her lying-in time, then after the passing of about a month's interval - the precise number of days decreed by local custom and by class - the woman was brought veiled to the church porch to present the chrisom cloth of her baptised child (the white cloth signifying the purity of baptism and a lighted candle that when blessed by the priest symbolised the woman's own restored and purified body. She then processed into the church to be ritually readmitted by the priesthood to the Mass and to the community of the faithful ; the climax of that ritual reincorporation was the priest's chanting of the [...] 120th (121st) psalm, which solemnly assured the new mother that,
The sun shall not burn thee by day; nor the moon by night.
The lord keepeth thee from all evil; may the Lord keep thy soul.
May the Lord keep they coming in and thy going out, from hence-forth
now and for ever. (Psalm 120 : 6-8 Douay-Rheims version)¹⁴

The ritual is connected with Mary as Mother in a number of ways. Firstly Mary herself was purified at the Temple forty days after the birth of Christ, as required by Levirate law. In medieval England this event was as commemorated on Candlemas (2 February) and could involve a procession, like that which took place in Beverley in Yorkshire,

The Beverley text tells us that the procession there included "all the brethren and sisteren" of the Guild of Saint Mary and that it was led by " one of the gild [...] clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms." The Virgin and Child were followed by others costumed as Joseph and Simeon and by angels who processed with twenty-four thick wax candles; all with " music and gladness" walked through the streets to the parish church.¹⁵

Mary is thus a role-model for parturient women. Royal churchings replicated the Candlemas processions, making clear an association between Queen of England

and the other regal mother, The Virgin Mary. In 1465, after the birth of her daughter, Elizabeth of York, Queen Elizabeth Woodville's churching was accompanied by 'many priests bearing relics [...] many scholars singing and carrying lights.'¹⁶ Queens were not the only women to undergo this ritual; Margery Kempe describes how the ordinary women of her parish ritually connected themselves with the Mother of God at their own churchings,

Sche [Margery] had swech holy thowtys & meditacyons many tymes whan sche saw women ben purifyd of her childeryn. Sche thowt in hir sowle þat sche saw owr Lady ben purifyd & had hy contemplacyon in þe beheldyng of þe women wheche comyn to offeryn with þe women þat weryn purifyd.¹⁷

The 'women that came to offer' were the midwives and appointed godmothers who had assisted at the birth and presented the new-born child on behalf of the mother for baptism.¹⁸

Eamon Duffy identifies another connection between the ritual of churching of women and the Virgin Mary, which is suggested by the use of the altar in the Lady Chapel of Ranworth Church, in Norfolk. He writes,

It was the custom for women when they came to be churched to offer a candle in thanksgiving for their delivery before the main image of the Blessed Virgin, or at the Lady altar. At Ranworth this south altar [behind which were located the images of the Holy kindred] was the Lady altar, and it was here in all probability that women would have brought their babies and their offerings.¹⁹

The woman identifies her own successful childbearing with that of the Virgin Mary and ritually acts out this connection in a sacred space, surrounded by the women, probably most of them mothers themselves, who had helped her through her own confinement. The evidence suggests that what medieval women wanted of the Virgin was not only protection in their hour of greatest need in labour but also power by association; this was not available from Mary's representation as a wife as the Virgin was shown to be as constrained in this patriarchal institution as

were her earthly sisters. By association with Mary's representation as Mother of God and her successful childbearing, however, women could gain some status, and their understanding of this can be seen in their participation in the ritual of churching, which was an echo of the ritual in which Mary herself had participated when she took Christ to the Temple. Men saw the churching of women as having stemmed from the ritual purification after childbed (in the Book of Leviticus 12 : 4 - 5) but that it had become, post Gregory the Great, something that permitted parturient women thanksgiving for safe delivery of a child. Whilst women may have given thanks, they also, as Gail McMurray Gibson argues, chose to interpret the ritual differently, in a manner which celebrated their physicality and sexuality, so long maligned by the Church :

[...]we may well conclude that the meaning of the purification ritual for the women who were churched must have been very different from the meaning projected by the celibate male elite who presided at the altar. Churching was, after all, for women a theater of their own, the only liturgical ceremony in the medieval church provided by the clergy for women only. It is important to note, too, that the awesome Latin psalms and blessings, the holy water and burning candles, sanctified not only the body of the new mother, but the entire body of attending women. Even on those occasions when the father or other male attendants were present (as they tended to be, for example, in royal ceremonies), the men remained literally marginal, on the outskirts of the ceremony and its meaning. The symbolic and ritual center of this drama was a woman's body - and the privileged body of women who had served as childbed attendants in the exclusively female space of the childbirthing room.²⁰

The churching of women celebrated the female body and the role which women could share with the Mother of God, her successful childbearing and it appears to have been understood by women in this way.

And what of Saint Anne ? Ashley has argued that Saint Anne, because of her three marriages, could be 'the ideal mediating figure for a society in transition from ideals of chastity and contemplation to the elevation of marriage and the active life.'²¹ We do have evidence that *some* women; Anne, Duchess of Bedford, Katherine Denston and Jane Chamberleyn of York, did have great personal

devotion to Anne but these women did not respond to Anne as a wife *per se*; they responded to her as the genetrix of a powerful dynasty. Like Mary, Anne was shown as still confined within the patriarchal norms of a medieval marriage, as is symbolised by the stained glass in Malvern Priory, and so women of powerful families responded to those aspects of Anne's wifedom which reflected their own hopes for power and recognition in their social framework: bearing the next Duke of Bedford or heir to the Denston or Chamberleyn estates. It is interesting that we do not have any surviving testimony of medieval widows formally linking themselves with Saint Anne and promoting remarriage in light of Anne's example. One explanation might be that the Church in its ambivalence towards remarriage suppressed any devotion to Anne of this kind, aided by the fact that it appeared in a disputed narrative, that of the *Trinubium*, which may have been suppressed in England because it threatened the peculiarly English belief in Mary as Immaculate Conception. It seems as plausible that women's lived experiences of marriage affected their response to Anne's *Trinubium*. Whilst remarriage might provide a widow with company and (further)children, it took away any legal/social advantages which she may have gained as a *femme sole* and so, if the woman could support herself, remarriage may not always have been the preferred option.²² As we have seen, for widows in post-plague Halesowen, their younger, never-married sisters were preferred, suggesting that for some widows, the offer of a second marriage may never have materialised. Instead of responding to Anne as the champion of marriage and remarriage for widows, some women did respond to Anne's representation as the matriarch of a large, important family and to the importance of lineage which Anne as wife could convey, that is, they responded, as they had with Mary, to the 'mothering' aspect of Anne's wifedom.

The status and success of Anne's family was the ideal role model for the Duchess of Bedford and the Clopton dynasty, of whom Katherine Denston was a member. Katherine Denston's attachment to Anne in this role confirms Gail McMurray Gibson's assertion that, '[...] the popular cult of St. Anne in East Anglia was an undisguised celebration of family ties and relationships of kinship.'²³ I would argue that response to Saint Anne as genetrix was class-based; the wives of wealthy men, keen to establish dynasties of their own, might well look to Anne as a matriarchal exemplar and this, in turn, may be one explanation of why we hear of women's piety towards Anne in York and Norfolk, both flourishing bourgeois centres in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the *St. Anne's Life* recorded by Robert Reynes of Acle represents Anne, as Gail McMurray Gibson has observed, as a wealthy woman who is the matriarch of a large bourgeois family, the sort of figure whom one might have met in fifteenth century Norfolk,

[...] St. Anne who with her multiple husbands and daughters appears in this poem like a rich pious widow [...] The Acle poem closely follows the account of the life of St. Anne in the *Golden Legend*, but adds elaboration and emphases that make Anne a model East Anglian matron, [...] She lives a busy, comfortable, and pious life and endures only the temporary martyrdom of her childlessness, a childlessness that will be wholly transformed by the miraculous conception that makes her mother of Mary and grandmother of God's own Son. It is difficult to imagine a saint with more obvious bourgeois appeal.²⁴

These positive responses by women to Mary and Anne as *mothers*, fit into the schema of female spirituality which Caroline Walker Bynum has charted as developing between 1200 and 1500.²⁵ During this period, female spirituality was directly linked to and expressed through women's somatic experience. Walker Bynum argues that those images of piety which appealed to women were those which reflected and sanctified women's domestic and biological experience,

Iconographic motifs such as the Visitation, the Anna Selbdritt and the Holy Kinship (which depict Jesus' extended family as predominantly female) and stories of the childhood of Jesus and

Mary clearly responded to women's interests: these legends and devotional objects were popular with female readers and viewers, secular as well as religious.²⁶

Duffy has commented on how Anne may be read as an image,

[...] the cult of Anne provided an image of female fruitfulness which was maternal [...] and her thrice-married state, rivalling the career of the Wife of Bath, was an assertion of the compatibility of sanctity and the married life. She represented both the notion of the family and the principle of fertility [...]²⁷

Through their own childbearing, Mary and Anne sanctified this specifically female somatic experience, whose pains and trauma clerics had so often tersely and unsympathetically identified as the curse of Eve. When women saw their abdomens begin to swell, looked to Mary for help in their labour, aligned themselves with her in their ritual churching or saw their own children and grandchildren around them and thought of Saint Anne, they were giving expression to a female spirituality based on a shared somatic experience with their spiritual role models. It was an experience which they understood as empowering them.

The surviving representations of Mary and Anne as wives are testimony to the best intentions of some who wished to instruct properly the copulating laity in the formation and celebration of an institution, participation in which would irrevocably change their lives. The images of Mary as a wife were also used to instruct in the patriarchal concept of proper wifedom; a wife was to be chaste, silent and obedient. Anne was a useful vehicle by which to teach the importance of marital love and lineage/childbearing. Not unreasonably, the representation of Mary and Anne as wives and the lessons to be learned from them was predicated on the belief that women required and wanted role-models, a void often filled in this period by the saints.

As we have seen, women responded to representations of Mary and Anne as mothers : the images of Mary and Anne as wives were met generally with

silence. This silence, however, does have a story to tell, like that of the blank sheet amongst the many bloodstained ones framed and hung along the corridors of the Portugese, Carmelite convent in Isak Dinesen's short story, *The Blank Page*.²⁸ Each frame contains the wedding night sheets of aristocratic marriages, marked by the blood of defloration, and hence 'tell' the same story; of the virginity of the bride/breeder to be and her successful rupture / male marking out of his territory. Only one is blank, but this blank is far from silent, as is suggested by the storyteller who narrates the tale,

"We," she says at last, "the old women who tell stories, we know the story of the blank page. But we are somewhat averse to telling it, *for it might well, among the uninitiated, weaken our own credit*."²⁹ (emphasis my own)

Here the storyteller admits that the blank page tells a story but that it is one which she is reluctant to pass on because it might have an adverse affect on the status of women amongst *the uninitiated* (read patriarchy and patriarchal women). The storyteller is perfectly aware of the politics of politic silence. Sidonie Smith has observed about the blank sheet that,

In this one frame the sheet remains white, disturbingly, provocatively barren of that metonymic marker of female identity, elusively silent about one princess's wedding night. Out of this silence erupts women's autobiographical storytelling since the possibilities of storytelling proliferate with the absence of the body's mark.³⁰

Silence can be eloquent and women's silence concerning Mary and Anne's representations as wives speaks very clearly down the centuries. It is not a silence which connotes assent to the ideal wife; chaste, silent, obedient as conveyed by the image of Mary and a broodmare, as conveyed by Saint Anne. It speaks of a disjunction between the text environment in which medieval women lived (the marital sermons preached to them, literature available to them, the stories they are told, customs) and their own preoccupations such as babies, status and dynasty

(each irrevocably entwined with the other) that is, between what men thought it good for women to know and women's own apprehension of what constituted validation of their proper areas of authority. It is a silence which tells a story of medieval sexual politics; women were *deliberately* silent in response to the images of Mary and Anne as wives, not because they assented but because they *dissented*: it was a silence meaning 'no', these images are too limiting and are not for us. It is also testimony to the power of women, to remain silent, as they so chose, to the teaching of the Church and to manipulate that teaching to suit their own needs, feed their own preoccupations and salve their fears; in fact, as we have seen, to tell their own story. For most women, the image of Mary as a wife would have appeared empty, hollow and limiting and so they chose to venerate her in her most powerful role, that was inextricably linked to and validating of her being a woman; her role as the Mother of God. The image of Anne as a wife might have sanctioned remarriage but this was not taken up. Rather, it was Anne's representation as genetrix of the most influential dynasty in the history of humanity that was empowering for *some* women and thus taken up by some of them: women of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie for whom dynastic concerns moulded their childbearing experiences responded to her in this way.

Women's own stories about being wives are many and varied; between 1200 and 1540, as in all historical periods, women fornicated, married, had sex, committed adultery and changed partners on the impulse of their fancy and as their human nature dictated. Although, in the examples of Mary and Anne as wives, women were presented with an ideological construction of 'verry matrimony' deemed appropriate by patriarchy at that historical moment, wives chose not to be constrained in their marital behaviour by neither the example of Mary nor of her

mother, St. Anne. Some did choose to respond to them as mothers, who, by their saintly, fruitful examples, empowered women. It is rather satisfying, that in remaining silent about these images, medieval women were actually carrying out their duties as wives and did not weaken their credit; their silence was interpreted as obedience by patriarchy which, in its logocentricism, has never been silent and so has never appreciated the virtue of silence as capable of being ambiguous and useful as a defensive and eloquent tool. The storyteller in *The Blank Page* worries that she is breaking a trust and weakening women's credit by relating the story of the blank page but decides to make an exception and tell. If, in telling the story of medieval women's resistance to the patriarchal construction of proper wifhood taught through a manipulation of the Virgin Mary and Saint Anne, I have, in any small way, expanded our knowledge of medieval women's devotional practice and the historicity of wifhood *per se*, then I feel justified in telling this the story and in encouraging that you,

[...] good people who want to hear stories told : look at this page, and recognise the wisdom of my grandmother and of all old story-telling women.³¹

Conclusion : notes

1. Peter Brown, *The Body and Society*, p. 355.

2. Marc Glasser, 'Marriage in Medieval Hagiography,' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Volume 4 (Old Series, Volume XIV), 1987, 3-34 (p. 23). The rise of interest in married saints has been commented on more recently by Mulder-Bakker who argues that the Church had *always* held up holy mothers as inspiration for its flock (such as Paula) and suggests caution with regard to the *number* of married women saints in the later Middle Ages, citing Elizabeth of Thuringia and Brigitta of Sweden as the most famous examples of mother saints comparable with Mary and Anne. Mulder-Bakker does concede, however, that this period saw an increase in, '[...] *holy mothers*, that is holy women whose public role in society was based on their status as spouse and mother; it was this status of motherhood that gave them entrance to the public sphere (in a similar way as entering the job-market does now) and this opened for them the road to sanctitude.', *Sanctity and Motherhood*, p. 4.

3. On her death in 1394, Richard's grief was such that he knocked down both the Earl of Arundel for his late arrival at Anne's funeral and Anne's favorite palace because he could not bear memories of a happier time there. Williams and Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal*, p.73. In 1395 Richard II commissioned a tomb for Anne: Anne and Richard lie in effigy, side by side, in the

chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. It is likely that the design of Anne's tomb was hijacked by Richard to serve political ends: its location, epitaph and use of image serve to convey the message of Richard as inheritor of the Plantagenet dynasty and the sacred kingship of Edward the Confessor, as suggested by Stephen Stallcup, 'Creating a Memory: Richard II's tomb at Westminster Abbey,' paper given at *Memory*, The Fourth Postgraduate Conference, The University of Bristol Centre for Medieval Studies, 14 - 15 February, 1998. Anne lies enshrined as the memory of the desire to continue the dynasty. In 1396, two years after Anne's death, Richard married Isabelle of Valois, to secure peace with France and presumably provide the male heir which he lacked.

4. Rosemary Drage Hale has noted the converse is true of Joseph's status in late medieval England. Hale has argued that the Holy Family came to be seen as an earthly Trinity in which Joseph's role paralleled that of God and that, like his medieval male counterparts, Joseph too had right of possession over all earthly goods in return for his guardianship, protection and provision; whatever Mary owned, her virtues, her attributes, her child - belonged also to Joseph. Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother,' p. 113. Thus it is that Joseph was 'reconstructed' in the late medieval period to be worthy of this appropriation of Marian virtue. Hale has argued since that the re(construction) of Joseph as a husband represents both prescriptive and descriptive paradigms for masculinity; in the late Middle Ages Joseph the frail, old cuckold disappears and from the fifteenth century Joseph is characterised in the prime of his manhood and as a labourer. Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Domestic Dominion : Medieval Images of an Everyday Masculinity,' (unpublished paper), Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997. In contrast with women's problematic relationship to Mary's representation as wife, men appear to have had no such reservations with Joseph's representation as a good husband and loving father; in Europe they readily joined brotherhoods and confraternities dedicated to Joseph. Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother,' p. 110 - 1.

5. J. Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex : Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington, Indiana : Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 7.

6. Gottfried von Strassburg's early thirteenth century description of Tristan's birth, as quoted in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born. Representations of Caesarian Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 7.

7. As demonstrated by Gibson, 'Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed,' p. 96.

8. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born*, p. 15.

9. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, pp. 186 - 187.

10. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 187.

11. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 279.

12. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 279.

13. Barratt, *Women's Writing*, p. 280.

14. Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon. Churching and Women's Theater,' in Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace, eds., *Bodies and Disciplines. Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth Century England*, Medieval Cultures Volume 9 (Minneapolis and London : University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 139 - 154 (p. 144).

15. Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon,' p. 141.

16. Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon,' p. 147.

17. Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed., Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS OS 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940, reprint 1961), p. 198, as quoted in Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon,' p. 149.

18. Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon,' p. 149.

19. Duffy, ' Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes,' p. 196.

20. Gail McMurray Gibson, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon,' p. 149.

21. K. Ashley, 'Image and Ideology,' p. 119.

²². The common perception of the medieval wealthy widow as much married and dowered has recently been shown to be inaccurate and that in fact, a reluctance of noble widows to remarry was a feature in England in the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. Linda Mitchell has calculated that nearly twice as many widows remained single rather than remarry and it appears that medieval society was well populated with single, noble, independent women. This reluctance was dependent upon how wealthy and financially secure her first marriage had left her and her heirs. If she were left financially secure she might choose not to remarry if not, a second or third marriage could be arranged to boost her financial status. Linda E. Mitchell, 'To be (married) or Not to be (married) : The Politics of Widowhood in thirteenth century England,' (unpublished paper), Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997. In an effort to remain unmarried and financially independent, some widows became vowesses and took a formal vow of chastity. Such was the case with Isabella Ufford, Countess of Suffolk who, in 1383, made a public, solemn vow before Archbishop Thomas Arundel (The Episcopal Register records her pledge). As a vowess Isabella could not be remarried nor ravished for her lands. Isabella remained a vowess in the world and still circulated in a secular matrix. Virginia Blanton-Whetshall, 'Witnesses of Good Repute : Dower Politics and Isabella Ufford's Vow of Chastity,' (unpublished paper), Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997.

²³. Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 83.

²⁴. Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, p. 84.

²⁵. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York : Zone Books, 1991).

²⁶. Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation*, p. 200.

²⁷. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 181 - 2.

²⁸. *The Blank Page* is to be found in Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, eds., *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women. The Traditions in English* (New York, London : W.W. Norton & Company, 1985, second edition 1996), pp. 1391 - 1394.

²⁹. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Norton Anthology*, p. 1391.

³⁰. Sidonie Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body. Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Indiana University Press : Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1993), p. 3.

³¹. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Norton Anthology*, p. 1394.

APPENDIX ONE

A Selection of Continental Portrayals of the Marriage Ceremony of Mary : the Visual Arts

Tenth Century

(i) Manuscript illumination. End 10th century, Gospel of Otto III ; marriage of Mary in which the priest places his arm around Mary's shoulders and takes her to Joseph to whom the priest gives her.

Eleventh Century

(ii) Fresco. 11th century, Church of Sofia, Kiev, Ukraine ; Joseph, Mary, Anne and Joachim come before the priest at the high altar.

Twelfth Century

(iii) *Manuscript illumination. c. 1100, MS. 1053, *Lezionario*, f. 7v, Aartbisschoppelijk Museum, Utrecht, Netherlands; a robed man (priest ?) joins both of Mary's hands to both of Joseph's (who is bearded but not especially old) and this is watched by male witnesses.

Thirteenth Century

(iv) Manuscript Illumination. Early 13th century, Illustrations for *Lied von der Magd* or *Song (life) of Mary* including an illustration of Mary and Joseph's marriage, where the High Priest gives Mary to Joseph who is shown as an older Man. Two robed men stand behind the priest.

(v) Carving on Door pillars. c. 1230, Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris ; Joachim holds one of Mary's hands whilst the High priest joins the other to Joseph.

Fourteenth Century

(vi) Fresco. 1305 - 7, Paintings of Giotto, Arena Chapel, Padua ; High priest joins the hands of Mary and Joseph, an old man, holding a staff that has flowered and upon which a dove has alighted, before a crowd of onlookers (the males behind Joseph and females behind Mary). Joseph is portrayed placing a ring on Mary's finger.

(vii) Mosaic. 1315, Chora Church, Istanbul ; The High priest, Zachariah, places Mary in Joseph's custody, after his staff has flowered and a dove has alighted on his head.

(viii) Ivory. Fourteenth century casket, Toulouse, Musée Paul Dupuy; Mary's wedding takes place in the presence of Joachim and Anne.

(ix) Stained glass. 1320 - 5, Our Lady's Church, Esslingen ; Joseph, an old man holding a flowering staff, has his hand taken by Joachim, behind whom Mary stands, in a symbol of their betrothal.

(x) Manuscript illumination. Second half of 14th century, *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, Paris ; Joseph, an old man who holds a flowering staff on which a dove has alighted, places a ring on Mary's finger. Mary's hand is proffered by Joachim. Joseph is surrounded by a group of men and Mary by a group of women.

(xi) Painting on panel. c. 1365, S. Croce, a Franciscan chapel, Florence by Giovanni da Milano (1347 - 1369); On a wall dedicated to the Virgin and containing paintings of scenes from her early life, Marriage of the Virgin : High priest joins Mary and Joseph's hands, whilst Joseph places a ring on Mary's finger. Joseph is portrayed as an old man surrounded by men, some of whom break their staffs which did not flower. Mary is a young woman surrounded by other women. Saints Anne and Joachim watch from behind the High Priest.

Fifteenth Century

(xii) Wooden Relief Altar. 1400 - 1410, The Konstanz Master, Konstanz; a kneeling Mary and Joseph (an old man) are married by a bishop who joins their hands. St. Anne watches with three other young women from behind Mary whilst four men stand behind Joseph. Anne, Mary and Joseph are all nimbed and Mary is crowned also.

(xiii) Manuscript Illumination. c. 1422 - 25, Book of Hours, Paris, from the workshop of the Bedford Master and probably made for Charles VII and his wife Maria of Anjou, now Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 25r ; one of the miniatures portrays Mary and Joseph, who is an old man, having their hands joined by a High Priest.

(xiv) **Panel painting on wood.** c. 1420, by Robert Campin (1375 - 1444), Prado, Madrid; a bi-partite painting of a gothic architectural setting; in the left-hand section (the inside of the building) shows Joseph hiding his flowering rod beneath his cloak, only for it to be revealed by one of the suitors who have failed. To the right, outside and in front of the church doors, a Jewish High Priest binds the hands of Mary to Joseph, who is portrayed as old and holding a flowering rod which is so thin that it looks like a reed. A group of men and women stand behind the couple.

(xv) **Panel painting on wood.** Fifteenth century, by Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro da Mugello, 1387 - 1455), Prado, Madrid; beneath a painting of the Annunciation is a frieze of five scenes from the life of Mary. The first scene is divided into two; a domestic setting portraying Mary's birth combined with a larger illustration (two thirds of the frame) of Mary's marriage to Joseph. Joseph (to left and portrayed as an older man) and Mary (to right) stand before a bishop, outside of a church. The scene is witnessed by the failed suitors (who stand behind Joseph and break their rods) and women (who stand behind Mary; an older women in blue in the foreground of the female witnesses may well be St. Anne). Joseph is shown placing a ring on the third finger of Mary's left hand.

(xvi) **Closing Canopy Retable of wood.** 1420 - 1430, Gdansk, Church of the Virgin Mary now in the National Museum, Warsaw; one of four scenes of the life of Mary, depicting her marriage to Joseph. A mitred priest holds Joseph's hand and offers his own to Mary. Joseph is portrayed as an old man with a grey beard, dressed in green tunic and blue hose and Mary, dressed in blue, as a young woman (nimbed) who holds her hands crossed across her breasts. Joseph is surrounded by five men and Mary by two nimbed women, one of whom is older (possibly St. Anne ?), two girls and two boys. The ceremony takes place in front of a church with turrets.

(xvii) **Painted altar table.** c. 1465, The Master of Marylives, Köln, München. Mary and Joseph, an old man, kneel before a Jewish High Priest, who joins their hands. This takes place in a synagogue. Mary is accompanied by a group of women and Joseph by a group of men.

(xviii) **** Manuscript illumination in the *Playfair Hours*.** Late fifteenth century. Rouen, France but made for English use. Now London, Victoria and Albert Museum MS L. 475 - 1918, f. 36r ; one of four scenes in the border of a full-page illustration of the Annunciation, depicting the marriage of Mary and Joseph. Mary (on right) and an aged Joseph (on left) are shown having their right hands

joined by a Jewish priest. They are standing within an architectural setting which is heavily panelled. Two women (one of whom is Anne) stand behind Mary and two men stand behind Joseph.

(xix) **Painted Wooden Retable.** c.1515, Joos van Cleve (1485 - 1540), made for a church, Gdansk, now in the National Museum, Warsaw; the left-hand panel contains the betrothal of Mary. A mitred priest joins the hands of Mary and Joseph. Joseph is so reluctant that one of his male companions holds on to his coat tails to prevent him from running away. Mary is surrounded by women and Joseph by men. The ceremony takes place in a church.

Sixteenth Century

(xx) **Panel Painting on Wood.** 1504, Raffaello Santi, Mailand. Mary and Joseph (portrayed as a middle-aged man) are shown standing before a priest (Mary to his left and Joseph to his right). Behind Joseph stands four suitors holding their rods, whilst one, in the foreground snaps his across his knee. Five women stand behind Mary. Joseph places a ring upon Mary's finger. The ceremony takes place on a paved forecourt before a grand, porticoed building.

(xxi) *** **Woodcut.** c. 1504/5, Albrecht Dürer, 'The Betrothal of the Virgin' from the series *Life of the Virgin Mary*. Mary and an old Joseph are shown handfasting before a bishop, witnessed by men (standing behind Joseph) and women (behind Mary). The ceremony takes place in a grand church before an altar.

(xxii) **Tapestry.** Between 1507 - 1530, Tournai. Mary and Joseph (a middle-aged man) are shown about to have their right hands joined by a Jewish priest. The ceremony takes place in a field of flowers. Mary is standing to the right of the priest and Joseph to the left. Behind Mary stands two women and a man holding an open book (the marriage liturgy ?) and behind Joseph are four men, two of whom can be seen to be holding rods.

(xxiii) **Carved wooden altar.** 1518 - 1522, Heinrich Douvermann, Kalkar. A priest is shown holding Joseph's right hand as he grasps Mary's right hand. Joseph is portrayed as an old man and Mary is a young girl, with very long hair crowned with a wreath of flowers. Four women stand behind her, the older one of whom may be Saint Anne. Behind Joseph stand four men who are not watching the proceedings (the disgruntled suitors ?). The ceremony takes place inside some kind of brick building.

* Illustration reproduced in Christiane Klapische-Zuber, ed., *A History of Women in the West. II. Silences of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Massachusetts & London, 1992), p. 342.

****** Illustration reproduced in K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens and London : The University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 24. A detailed study of the *Playfair Hours* can be found in Rowan Watkinson, *The Playfair Hours. A Late Fifteenth Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (V & A, L. 475 - 1918)* (London : Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984).

******* Illustration reproduced on the front cover of K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing. A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983).

Artefacts held in Museo del Prado, Madrid and the National Museum, Warsaw, have been examined personally. All other details taken from Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. Band 4. 2. Maria* (Gütersloh : Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980). The artefacts are described on pages 76 - 80 and illustrations are to be found on pages 293, 337 - 345.

Continental Portrayal of the Marriage Ceremony of Anne: the Visual Arts

Fifteenth Century

(i) **Retable.** End of fifteenth century. Anonymous master of Brussels. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Frankfurt-am-Main; Inner left-hand wing, third picture : The wedding of Joachim and Anne in which Anne and Joachim have the right hands bound by a bishop using his stole, in front of the door of a very ornate church. Behind Anne stand two women and behind Joachim three men. Anne is crowned.

(ii) **Panel painting.** *The Legend of St. Anne.* End of fifteenth century. Flemish master. St. Salvator Church, Bruges; In left-hand third of painting within an architectural setting (an ornate church with leaded windows) Anne and Joachim (both nimbed) clasp right hands before a priest. Behind Anne stand three women and behind Joachim four men. A young boy stands to Anne's left, holding on to her sleeve.

Details taken from Ton Brandenburg, ' St. Anne and her family. The veneration of St. Anne in connection with concepts of marriage and the family in the early-modern period' in *Saints and She- Devils. Images of Women in the 15th and 16th centuries*, ed., Lène Dresen-Coenders (London : Rubicon Press, 1987), pp. 117 and 118.

APPENDIX TWO

CONTINENTAL WRITTEN MARIAN LIVES : A SELECTION

The following works were written on the Continent and have here been placed in chronological order, using work date where known or manuscript survivals where composition date remains unknown. The work's abbreviated title as used in the thesis and details, if any, of its publication, have been given.

Ninth Century

- (i) 'Εὐλοησον Δεσποτα, Λογος. Greek sermon by Epiphanius the Monk, turn of the ninth century. Edition : PG 120, 185-216.

Tenth Century

- (ii) *IIDG* *Historiae Intactae Dei Genetricis*. A Latin verse life of Mary by Hrotsvith(a) of Gandersheim (935-999), which describes Mary's conception and birth, early life, betrothal and marriage. Edition : PL 120, 185 - 216.

Twelfth Century

- (iii) *Sermo de Vita Sanctissimæ Deiparæ*. A Latin translation by Paschal the Roman of Epiphanius' Greek sermon (see number (i) above), c. 1131 - 86, according to Graef, *Mary. A History*, p. 182. Edition : PG 120 , 185 - 216.
- (iv) *VBVMSR* *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*. An anonymous Latin verse narrative with possibly a German provenance, written before 1172. Edition : A. Vögtlin, *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXXX (Tübingen : Bibliothek de Literarischen Vereins, 1888).

- (v) ***La Conception*** ***La Conception Nostre Dame.*** A French poem by Wace (d.c.1175-80); Wace's purpose was that of propagandist as in this poem Wace recorded the Helsin miracle and gave a version of the life of Mary including a long commentary resembling the arguments in favour of the Immaculate Conception. Edition : MM. G. Mancel and G. S. Trebutien, eds., *L' Établissement de la Fête de la Conception Notre Dame dire La Fête aux Normands par Wace, Trouvère Anglo- Normand du XII^e siècle* (Caen : Publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1842)

Thirteenth Century

- (vi) *LCBMVVEV* *Libellus de Conceptione Beate Marie Virginis et Vita Ejus Versificatus*. A versified life preserved in a manuscript dating from the thirteenth century, anonymous. The text is preserved imperfectly, in London, British Library Manuscript Additional 20,009, provenance as belonging formerly to the monastery of Saint James of Liège in Belgium, *Catalogue of Additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854 - 1860, Volume I* (London, 1875), p. 28. The works contained within Additional 20, 009 span the three hundred years' creation of the codex and are a curious selection. The thirteenth century contents, which comprise the bulk of the book, are as follows:
- Item 3. *Exposicio moralis super librum genesis*, imperfect (ff. 26 - 183)
- Item 4. *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (ff.182 - 226)
- Item 5. The *LCBMVVEV*, imperfect (ff. 227 - 234)
- Item 6. *Glossa super Alexandreiden Philippi Gualteri de Insula* [Castellione], imperfect (ff.235-248) [Gualterus more familiarly known as Walter of Chatillon]
- Item 9. *Versus ad retinendum memoriter nomina et ordinem librorum bibliae* (f.254)
- Item 10. A *Biblia Pauperum* by the same hand as the *Versus* (ff. 255 - 259)
- Item 11. The *Biblia Pauperum* of Alexander de Villa Dei by the same hand as Items 9 and 10 (ff. 260 onwards)

The folios in which the *LCBMVVEV* are to be found (227r - 235) show signs of trimming. The life appears to be written on a complete quire which dates from the thirteenth century. The trimming and the discrete nature of the quire both suggest that the *LCBMVVEV* was taken from another codex, larger than the one in which the life is preserved. It appears that the quire on which the *LCBMVVEV* continued was unavailable to the compiler of the present manuscript. It is difficult to be certain when Additional 20,009 was compiled. The pagination of volume is inconclusive on this point. Leaves I - XXV are marked in ink but the leaves have been renumbered sequentially in pencil, at a much later date. One possibility is that the codex started life in the thirteenth century as a number of disparate quires which were trimmed and sewn together and then added to in successive periods, to be made finally into a board-backed codex in the fifteenth century. This would explain the appearance of the latest material at the beginning of the book. This method of compilation would suggest that the audience for which this codex was compiled originally was a thirteenth century monastic one, whose reading matter, with some additions, was considered still suitable for the contents of a book for instructing the secular clergy in the fifteenth century. Another possibility is that the compilation was not started until the fifteenth century, for the express purpose of the education of the clergy, utilising whatever appropriate material was at hand. Where material from an earlier period was available and still considered doctrinally sound, such as the *Biblia Pauperum*, sermons on saints lives and the life of Mary, it was included along with more contemporary material. The Mary life appears to have been prescribed reading for an individual, judging from the size of the codex. This individual may have been either a celibate monastic or a secular clergyman or both.

(vii)

Speculum Historiale. A Latin prose work by Vincent of Beauvais; written post 1244.

- (viii) *Legenda Aurea* . A Latin prose collection of saints' lives by Jacobus de Voragine (c.1255-70), containing Mary's early life in the entry for 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary' (September 8). Edition : W. Granger Ryan, trans., *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, two volumes, volume II (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Fourteenth Century

- (ix) *MVC* *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. A Latin, prose life, long believed Pseudo-Bonaventuran but probably written by Johannes de Caulibus, a friar of the Franciscan foundation of San Gemignano, Tuscany, Italy; containing the early life of Mary in chapters two and three. Written c. 1300. Edition : A. C. Peltier, ed., *S.R.E. Cardinalis Bonaventura Opera Omnia, volume XII* (Paris:[n.p.], 1868).
- (x) *SHS* *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. An anonymous long, Latin poem written around 1310-1324, probably by a Dominican and possibly in either Germany, Austria or Bologna. Even before 1350, the poem had disseminated as far as Dortmund (North Germany), Prague in the east and Toledo in central Spain. Edition : J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, eds., *Speculum Humanae Salvationis : texte critique : traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448); les sources et l' influence iconographique principalement sur l' art alsacien du XIV^e siècle : avec la reproduction, en 140 planches, du Manuscrit de Sèlestat, de la série complète des vitraux de Mulhouse, de vitraux de Colmar, de Wissenbourg, etc. 2 Volumes* (Mulhouse and Leipzig, 1905, 1907 [Staatsbibliothek München clm 146]).

- (xi) **NVCBMVPAS** *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beate Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris*. An anonymous Latin prose life of Mary, written in a fourteenth century hand, provenance probably Northern Germany / Belgium, the date of work uncertain but likely to be fourteenth century. Related to the earlier *VBVMSR*. Edition : O. Schade, ed., *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beatae Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris* (Königsberg : Regimonti. Typis Academicis Dalkowskianis, 1870).
- (xii) *Die Erste Blyschap van Onzer Vrouwen* (Annunciation). One of a cycle of (originally) seven pageants which was written in Dutch about the Virgin Mary, specifically to be performed in the Grand Place in Brussels in 1448 (it was last performed in 1558). The pageants charted Mary's life in terms of her Seven Joys but only the first, and the last *Die Zevenste Blyschap van Onzer Vrouwen* (Assumption) exist. The middle five are lost. Each pageant was long (The Annunciation is 2200 lines). They were produced by the Rederijker Kamer. The First Joy of Mary establishes Mary's place in the scheme of Salvation and includes the relationship of Anne and Joachim, the conception and birth of Mary, her marriage to Joseph and the Annunciation. Edition : H. J. E. Endepols, *Vijf Geestelijke toneelspeelen der middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam : Bibliotheek der Nederlandse letteren, 1940).

CONTINENTAL LIVES OF ANNE

Fifteenth Century

- (i) *Historia perpulchra de Anna sanctissima*. c. 1490. A Latin prose life of Anne by the Carthusian Pieter Dorlant (Petrus Dorlandus; 1454 - 1507) of Zelem near Diest. Dorlant wrote also the *Legendae Sanctae Annae*, c. 1497 and the Middle Dutch *Historie van Sinte Anna, moeder Marie*, c. 1501. The works are discussed in detail in Ton Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' pp.101 - 128.
- (ii) *Die historie, die ghetiden ende die exempen vander heyligher vrouwen Sint Annen*, originally a Latin life of Saint Anne written by Jan van Denemarken (d. 1545). Translated into Dutch and published by Wouter Bor, a Carthusian monk from Monnikshuizen near Arnhem (now The Netherlands) whose translation appeared in Antwerp (Belgium) in 1491. The work is discussed in detail in Ton Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and her family,' pp. 101 - 128.

APPENDIX THREE

MEDIEVAL LIVES OF THE VIRGIN WHICH DISCUSS HER MARRIAGE, WRITTEN IN ENGLAND 1200 - 1540

The following works were written in England and have here been placed in chronological order, using work date where known or manuscript survivals where composition date remains unknown. The work's abbreviated title as used in the thesis and details, if any, of its publication, have been given.

Thirteenth Century

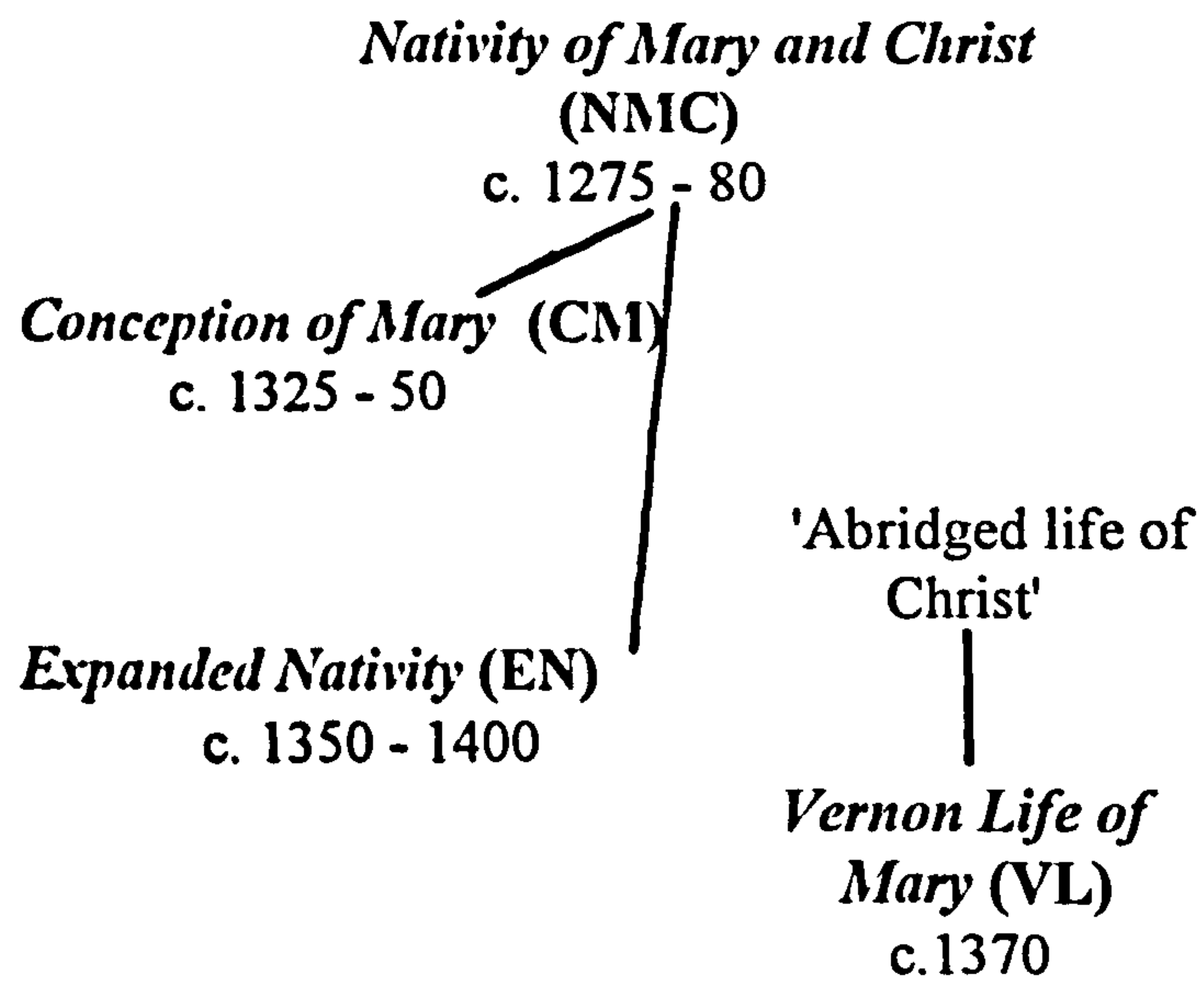
1. *Mariale* by Alexander of Hales (c. 1170 - d. 1245 or 1250). A prose, Latin life of Mary; written thirteenth century. Has survived in four manuscripts; Salisbury Cathedral 62 (thirteenth century) but which lacks significant parts of the text, Cambridge, Pembroke College 22 (fourteenth century, from Bury St. Edmunds), London, Lambeth Palace MS 52 (fourteenth century) and Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California, MS HM 26560 (mid-fourteenth century). Abbreviated title . For a description of the Lambeth MS see M.R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace. Part I. No. 1 - 97* (Cambridge : University Press, 1932), p. 86. Details of the Huntingdon MS are to be located in C.W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntingdon Library. Volume I* (San Marino, California : Huntingdon Library, 1989), pp. 658 - 659.
2. **VSM** *Vita Sancte Maria* by Thomas of Hales. A prose, Latin life of Mary; written c.1250. Edition : *The Lyf of Oure Lady: The Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie ed. from MS St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, E. I.I* , ed., S. M. Horrall (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1985).

Associated with the *South English Legendary* (a collection of lives of saints written before 1300, in Middle English Verse, henceforward abbreviated as SEL) are five, narrative poems, all in Middle English verse and of different date:

3. **NMC**

South English Nativity of Mary and Christ, anonymous. A verse life of Mary; written c.1275 - 1280; appears to come from Gloucestershire; found in three versions. Edition : O.S. Pickering, ed., *The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ edited from MS BM Stowe 949*, Middle English Texts I (Heidelberg : Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, 1975). A shortened version (called the *Conception of Mary*) exists in Lambeth Palace Manuscript 223, fols 33r - 43r and a third version (the *Expanded Nativity*) is to be found in Auchinleck Manuscript (Advocates Library 19. 2. 1.), fols 66r - 69v which is printed in, *Legendae Catholicae. A Lytle Boke of Seyntlie Gestes*, ed., W. B. D. D. Turnbull (Edinburgh : Advocates Library, 1840), pp. 125 - 164.

O. S. Pickering details the manuscripts in which all of the SEL poems are preserved in 'The *Temporale* Narratives of the *South English Legendary*,' *Anglia*, 91 (1973), 423 - 55 and demonstrates how the three versions of the NMC and the other poems are related :



Pickering discusses the textual relationships between three of the SEL narratives; the NMC, CM and EN in 'Three South English Legendary Nativity Poems', *Leeds Studies in English. New Series. Volume VIII*, eds., Betty Hill and Stanley Ellis (Leeds : University of Leeds, 1975), 105 - 118.

4. **VBM SR** *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*. An anonymous English copy of the anonymous Latin verse narrative called *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*. This work was created on the continent and is believed to have been written in the first half of the thirteenth century (see Appendix two, item (iv)). Preserved in London, British Library MS Additional 29, 434. Thirteenth or very early fourteenth century manuscript including over one hundred and fifty coloured drawings.

Fourteenth Century

5. **Cursor** *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 10123 - 11176, anonymous. A Middle English, verse history of the world containing a life of Mary; written c. 1300. Edition : *Cursor Mundi. (The cursor of the World). A Northumbrian poem of the fifteenth century in four versions*, ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 57, 99, 101 (volume I) and 59, 62 (volume 2) (London : Oxford University Press, 1874 - 93).
6. **CM** SEL poem *Concepcio Marie*, anonymous. A verse life of Mary; written c.1325. Edition: *Middle English Literature (Mittelenglische Sprach-und Literaturproben)* eds., A. Brandl and O. Zippel (second edition, New York : Chelsea Publishing Co., 1947), pp. 92 - 100.
7. **EN** SEL poem *The Expanded Nativity*, anonymous. A verse life of Mary; written c. 1350 -1400. Edition : *Altenglische Legenden Neue Folge* , ed., Carl Horstmann (Heilbronn : Henniger, 1881) under the title of 'Geburt Jesu,' pp. 81 - 109.

8. **VL** SEL poem *The Vernon Life of Mary*, anonymous. A close translation in Middle English of the twelfth century, French poem *La Conception Nostre Dame* by Wace; written c. 1370 (see appendix two, item 9v)). The poem survives complete in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Vernon (English Poetry a. 1., Bodl. Lib., S.C. 3938), ff. 6v - 9r. Its prologue on the founding of the Feast of the Conception survives in London, Lambeth Palace 225, ff. 31v - 3r and London, British Library MS Stowe 949, ff. 100v - 102r. A fragment of the poem can be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 779 (Bodl. Lib. S.C. 2567), ff. 244v - 49r.

9. *Speculum Hominis* by John Gower. Later revised as *Mirrouir de L'omme* and then printed as *Speculum Meditantis*. A French, verse life of the conception and birth of Mary, ll. 27481 - 28128 included in an account of the moral nature of God's dealings with humanity; written c.1375-76. Edition : *The Complete Works of John Gower. The French Works*, ed., G. C. MaCauley (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1899), pp. 305 - 312.

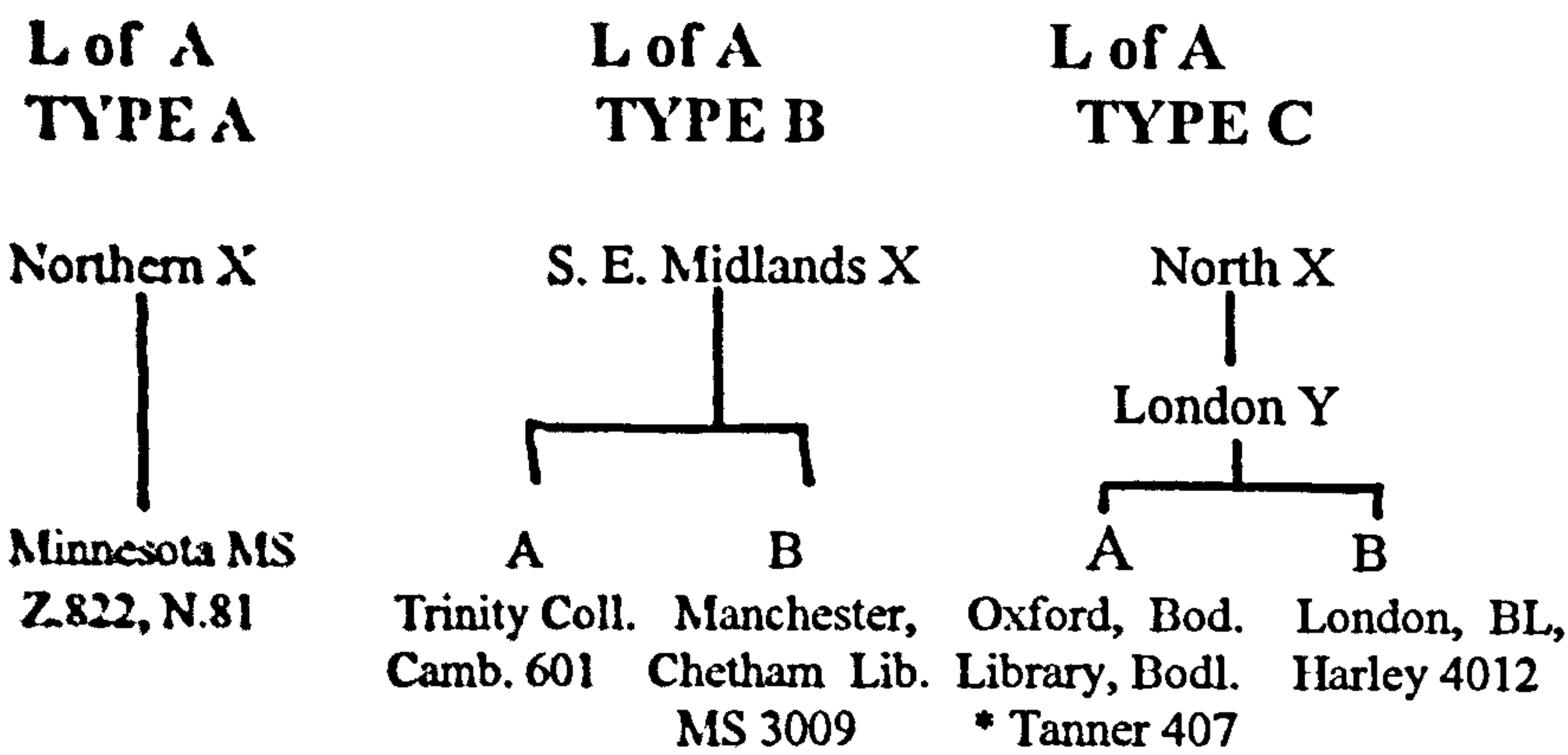
10. **Tretys** *Tretys of Oure Ladye howe sche was wedded*, anonymous. Middle English verse life of Mary in a South Midlands dialect, possibly the Lincoln-Norfolk border; written between c.1270 (post *Legenda Aurea* on which it draws) - fifteenth century (date of unique, surviving manuscript). Edition : Karl Reichl, 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben aus der Hs. Add. 4122 der University Library in Cambridge,' *Anglia*, 95 (1977), 313 - 378.

11. **VSM (ME)** *Lyf of Oure Lady*. A middle English prose translation of Thomas of Hales' VSM; translated possibly in the fourteenth century, manuscripts exist from fifteenth century. Edition: see number 2 above.

Fifteenth Century

12. *Bodleian* *Meditaciones* *Meditacione de vita et passione et resurrectione et ascensione Ihesu Christi*, fols 1 - 10r, anonymous. A Middle English prose life of Mary and Christ; preserved in Oxford, Bodleian MS 578, a manuscript written in first half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is described in F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, volume 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 326.
- Lives of Saint Anne*, anonymous. Middle English verse lives of St Anne and Mary which exists in three, different fifteenth century versions, by different authors.
13. *L of A (Type A)* i) *Life of Saint Anne*, anonymous. A verse life of St. Anne written in twelve line stanzas and the longest version; appears to be based on an older northern poem and made by a Midlands scribe in either south of the northern territory or N.E. Midlands; copied in the fifteenth century.
14. *L of A (Type B)* ii) *Life of Saint Anne*, anonymous. A verse life of St. Anne written in rime royal existing in two variants, shorter than *L of A (A)*; one text appears to come from the S.E. Midlands, Suffolk and the other from the E. Midlands; copied in the fifteenth century.
15. *L of A (Type C)* iii) *Life of Saint Anne*, anonymous. A verse life of St. Anne in four-line stanzas existing in two variants, shorter than *L of A (Type A)*; originally of Northern provenance but copied in the N.E. Midlands and in the E. Midlands from the same London version; copied in the fifteenth century.

The extant versions have arisen as follows, and survived in a number of manuscripts as outlined and edited by R. E. Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, EETS OS 174 (London : Oxford University Press, 1928), p. xxvi. :



* See below under entries for St. Anne.

16.

TCM

SEL poem *The Trinity Conception of Mary*, anonymous. A translation of the first twelve chapters of the *Pseudo-Matthew*; written c.1400 - 1450; preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 3 23 (James 605).
17.

Mirror

The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ, by Nicholas Love. A Middle English prose version of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran, Latin *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (see Appendix two, item (ix)) containing the early life of Mary in chapters two and three; written c.1410. Edition: *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ. A critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, ed. Michael Sargent, Garland Medieval Texts, number 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992).

18. **LOL** *Life of Our Lady* by John Lydgate. A Middle English verse life of Mary, commissioned by Henry Vth ; written c.1421-22 and printed by Caxton in 1484. Edition : *A critical edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady*, eds., J. A. Lauritis et al., Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 2 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University, 1961).
19. *The Golden Legend*, anonymous friar. A Middle English prose translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (c. 1255 - 70), based on the French version of this text; written in 1438 and printed by Caxton in 1483 and 1489. Edition : *The Golden Legend of Master William Caxton done anew*, ed., F. S. Ellis (London : William Morris at the Kelmscott Press, 1892). Ellis has edited Caxton's edition of the text.
20. *The Mirour of Man's Saluacioun*, an anonymous translation in Middle English of the anonymous *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, made c. 1429. Edition : A. Henry, ed., *The Mirour of Man's Saluacion. A Middle English translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis. A critical edition of the fifteenth-century manuscript illustrated from Der Spiegel der menschen Behältnis Speyer : Drach, c. 1475* (Aldershot : Scholar Press, 1986).

21. *LTVMTC*

The Life of the Virgin Mary and The Christ, anonymous, in Middle English prose, surviving in three manuscripts ; Manchester, Chetham Library, Chetham MS 27911 (Mun. A. 2. 166), ff. 1 - 85, a manuscript dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, Dublin, Trinity College Library MS D. 4. 3 (423), fols.245r - 292v , a manuscript dating from the second half of the fifteenth century and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 2. 18. For description of Chetham MS 27911 see G. A. Lester, *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist 2. A History of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 92. For description of Dublin, Trinity College MS B. 2. 18 (423) see M. L. Colker, *Trinity College, Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts. Volume II* (Aldershot : Trinity College Library by Scholar , 1991), p. 842 and briefly in R. A. Klinefelter, ' The Four Daughters of God : A new version,' *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 52 (1953), 91 - 95. The Dublin manuscript, Trinity College MS D. 4. 3 (423) has been edited in an unpublished M.A. thesis by P. A. McQuillan, *A Critical Edition of the Life of the Virgin Mary and the Christ (Trinity College, Dublin MS 423)*, M.A. Thesis, Duquesne University (Pittsburg, 1951).

22.

De Sancta Maria, anonymous. A Middle English prose translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran, Latin *Meditationes Vitae Christi* containing the early life of Mary until the raising of Lazarus; fifteenth century. This translation survives in two manuscripts; London, British Library MS Harley 1022, fol. 64 and in Oxford, MS Bodley 938, f. 202. Both have been printed in the edition : C. Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle of Hampole. An English Father of the Church and his Followers* (London : Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), pp. 158 - 161 under the title of *De Sancta Maria*.

MEDIEVAL LIVES OF ANNE WHICH DISCUSS HER MARRIAGE, WRITTEN IN ENGLAND 1200 - 1540

Fifteenth Century

1. *L of A (Types A, B, and C)* *Lives of Saint Anne*, anonymous. Middle English verse lives of St Anne and Mary which exists in three, different fifteenth century versions, by different authors. See above under Marian lives, number 13. The extant versions are edited by R. E. Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, EETS OS 174 (London : Oxford University Press, 1928). What Parker prints as L of A (Type C), pp. 110 - 26 is in fact a collation of a life of Anne which appears in London, British Library MS Harley 4012 and *The Life of St. Anne* which can be found Oxford, Bodleian Tanner MS 407 (Bodleian SC 10234) (see below under 3).

2. *The Life of St. Anne Mother of St. Mary* in Osbern Bokenham, *Legends of Holy Women*. Written c. 1447; a long, Middle English verse composition in rhyme royale. Exists in a unique manuscript, London, British Library Arundel 327. Editions : M. Serjeantson, ed., *Legendys of Hooly Wummen by Osbern of Bokenham* EETS OS 206 (London : Oxford University Press, 1938) and *A Legend of Holy Women. Osbern Bokenham's Legends of Holy Women*, translated by Sheila Delaney, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame and London : University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

3. *L of A*
(*Reynes*)

Life of St. Anne, anonymous. A Middle English verse life of St. Anne in stanzas of four lines, rhyming abab; of E. Midlands provenance (written for a Guild of St. Anne, possibly Acle, near Norwich); copied between 1470 - 1500. Edition : Cameron Louis, ed., *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle. An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, Garland Medieval Texts, No. 1 (New York and London : Garland Publishing, 1980), pp. 414 - 427.

APPENDIX FOUR

English Portrayals of the Marriage of Mary* : The Visual Arts

Each of the artefacts listed below are discussed in detail in chapters two and four of the thesis.

Thirteenth Century

- (i) Stained Glass. c. 1190x1235, The Dean's Eye Window, Lincoln Cathedral.
- (ii) Manuscript Illumination. c. 1200, New Testament Picture Book private collection of C.W. Dyson Perrins.
- (iii) Book of Hours. c. 1240. London, British Library MS Additional 49999, *The De Brailles Hours*.
- (iv) Book of Hours. c. 1270. London, British Library MS Additional 48985, *The Salvin Hours*.

Fourteenth Century

- (v) Wall paintings. c. 1300, All Saints Church, Croughton, Northamptonshire. See figure 2, p. 99.
- (vi) Apparels of Albs. c. 1320 - 1340, London at The Victoria and Albert Museum.
- (vii) Book of Hours. c. 1340 - 50, London, British Library MS Egerton 2781, *The Egerton Hours*.

Fifteenth Century

- (viii) Embroidery. 1400, Whalley abbey orphrey. Currently on display in Burnley Museum, Lancashire. See figure 3, p.100.
- (ix) Book of Hours. c. 1420, London, British Library MS Additional 18850, *The Bedford Hours*.
- (x) Stained glass. c.1450, East Window of St. Mary's Church, Elland, West

Yorkshire.

(xi) **Stained glass.** 1440x1501, 'The Museum Window', tracery lights four and five, North Choir Aisle, Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire.

(xii) **Stained glass.** 15th century, window, St. Mary Magdalene Church, Newark, Nottinghamshire.

(xiii) **Stained glass.** c. 1498, 'Betrothal Window' in the Lady Chapel of St. Mary's, Fairford, Gloucestershire. See *Figure 1*, p. 98.

(xiv) **Manuscript illustration.** Fifteenth century, Lydgate's Life of Our Lady in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 596, fol. 96.

* denotes the actual wedding ceremony, *except* in the Apparels of Albs where this is now lost but which may very well have been present, Great Malvern Priory where only Joseph's selection through the flowering rod is depicted and the Newark glass which portrays Joseph being attacked by Mary's other suitors.

English Portrayals of the Marriage of Anne : The Visual Arts

Fifteenth Century

(i) **Stained glass.** c.1485, The North Nave Aisle, fourth window (second from east), Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire.

APPENDIX FIVE

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH PLAYS WHICH DISCUSS THE HOLY MARRIAGES WRITTEN IN ENGLAND 1200 - 1540

Both the plays and the printed editions used are given below.

(i) *The N.town Mary Play* from the N-Town Manuscript, anonymous, fifteenth century. Edition : P. Meredith, ed., *The Mary Play from the N.town Manuscript* (London and New York : Longman, 1987). The only play to include a complete wedding ceremony. For all of the N.Town pageants see K.S. Block, ed., *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi. Cotton MS Vespasian D. VIII*, EETS ES 120 (London : Oxford University Press, 1922).

(ii) *The Annunciation Play* from the Towneley Cycle, anonymous, probably first half of the fifteenth century, as suggested by Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1972, reprint 1980), pp. 310 - 11. Edition : *The Towneley Plays*, eds., M. Stevens and A. C. Cawley, *Volume I: Introduction and Text*, EETS SS 14 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1994). This has been included because Joseph describes how he was selected as Mary's husband, although the wedding is not described.

(iii) *Joseph's Trouble About Mary* from the York Cycle, anonymous, date of composition uncertain (possibly as early as 1376) but *Joseph's Trouble* was completely remodelled in 1415, extant text c. 1450, as suggested in Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 305. Edition : *York Mystery Plays. A Selection in Modern Spelling*, eds., R. Beadle and P. King (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1984). This has been included because Joseph mentions how he was selected as Mary's husband, although the wedding is not described.

<i>Appendix Six</i>				
Pontifical of Egbert	Leofric Sacramentary	Rede Boke of Darley	Magdalene Pontifical	Ely Pontifical
Eighth century	Ninth century	c. 1061	Twelfth century	Twelfth century
At home	In Church	In Church	In Church	At Church door as Bury but
short prayers:		Gregorian prayers : 1 Cor. 6: 15-20	Latin terms of consent priest receives woman	
Aaronic blessing Collect type		Matt. 19 : 1-6	priest receives ring priest receives marital money	
Blessing of chamber	a nuptial Mass and a set of prayers	Mass	priest blesses (x 2) the ring	
Blessing of ring		Psalmic verses	groom gives ring to bride	
Blessing of couple		Blessing : sow the seed		
Blessing of bed		Raphael prayer		
Blessing of wife (Tobit*)		Raguel prayer *		
		Blessing of chamber		
		Blessing of bed		
		Blessing of ring		
				At home Blessing of chamber Blessing of couple Blessing of their bodies

Bury Edmunds	St. Anianus' Pontifical	Hanley Castle	Liber Evesham
1125 - 35	1268 - 1304	Thirteenth century	Thirteenth /fourteenth century
At Church door	At Church door	At Church door	In Church
Blessing of ring	Reading of <i>dos</i> or contract	Reading of <i>dotialium</i> or contract	Publishing of Banns
Questions of consent	Giving consent	giving consent	<i>Dos</i> is nominated and woman is given to man
a form of pledge	couple join hands	blessing ring : psalmic verses & Trinity and giving gold pieces (<i>dos</i>)	a form of pledge
ring given	Ring blessed and given	Lanalet blessing *	Blessing of ring
groom : 'With this ring'	short blessing	Raguel prayer *	Gelasian and Lanalet blessings *
Bride to knees Short prayers : psalmic verses, Gelasian prayer, Raguel blessing*	Raguel prayer*		
Enter Church to Psalm 127*	To altar Psalm 127 *	with	Into Church with Psalm - 127 * and candles
Altar Steps four short blessings		two prayers	
Nuptial Mass	Nuptial Mass	Mass and Nuptial blessing	
At home Blessing chamber	At home prayers	At home bless wine	At home prayers
		bless bedchamber	

Abbot of Westminster Fourteenth century In Church	York Manual Mid-fourteenth century; vernacular In Church	Sarum Manual Mid-fourteenth century; vernacular Either At Church door or In Church	Harley 2860 Early fifteenth century At Church door
Reading of <i>dos</i>	Reading of Banns	Reading of Banns	Reading of <i>dotale</i>
Consent Formula & woman given to man	Questions of consent	Questions of consent	Consent formula
Ring blessed and given	Couple join hands	Couple join hands	Distribution of money
Four blessings	Priest gives woman to man		Blessing of money
	Exchange of vows	Exchange of vows	Prayers
	Blessing of ring and given	Blessing of ring and given	
	six blessings : psalmic verses & psalm 127 *, Raguel and Lanalet*	eight blessings : psalmic verses & psalm 127 *, Raguel and Lanalet*	Enter Church
Mass	Mass	Mass	Mass
	Nuptial blessing with pall	Nuptial blessing with pall	
	At home three prayers	At home six prayers :	
		bless the bedchamber bless the bodies and souls	

APPENDIX SEVEN

PRAYERS IN MARRIAGE LITURGIES (ENGLISH PRACTICE) : EIGHTH TO EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Blessing Through Tobit

May blessing be said over your wife, and over your parents; and may you see your children, and your children's children to the third and fourth generation; and may your seed be blessed by the God of Israel, who reigns for ever and ever.
(Tobit 8 : 10-12 Vulgate)

The Raguel Blessing/Prayer

From now on you belong to her and she to you; she is yours forever from this day. May the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob be with you, and may he himself join you together, and fill you with his blessing. (Tobit 7 : 12 Vulgate)

as printed in Lizette Larson-Miller, ed., *Medieval Liturgy. A Book of Essays* (New York and London : Garland Publishing Inc., 1997), p. 174. Raguel was the father of Sarah who married Tobias (as described in the Book of Tobit). Larson-Miller states that in Jewish weddings the Raguel blessing was pronounced at the wedding whilst the blessing through Tobit was used after the couple had slept together on the first night and that these prayers are used in a variety of ways and contexts during the Middle Ages.

Gregorian Prayers

O God, by your mighty power you have made all things out of nothing, and having set in order the elements of the universe and made man to your image, appointed woman to be his inseparable helpmate, so that the woman's body took its origin in the flesh of man, thereby teaching that what you have been pleased to institute from one principle, might never lawfully be separated;

O God, you have hallowed marriage by a mystery so excellent that in the marriage bond you prefigured the union of Christ with the Church ;

O God, by whom woman is joined to man, and that union which you ordered from the beginning is endowed with a blessing which was not taken away, either by the punishment for original sin or by the sentence of the flood;

Look in your mercy on this your handmaid who is to be joined in wedlock and implores protection and strength from you. Make the yoke of love and of peace be upon her. Faithful and chaste may she wed in Christ; and may she ever follow the pattern of holy women; may she be dear to her husband like Rachel, wise like Rebecca, long-lived and faithful like Sara. May the author of deceit work none of his evil deeds within her, may she ever be firm in faith and in keeping the commandments. May she be true to one husband, and fly from unlawful companionship. May she fortify her weakness by firm discipline. May she be graceful in demeanour and honoured for her modesty. May she be well taught in heavenly lore. May she be fruitful in offspring. May her life be good and sinless. May she attain in the end to the peace of the blessed and the kingdom of heaven. May they both see their children's children to the third and fourth generation, and reach that old age which they desire.

as printed in K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing. A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1983).

Psalm 128 (Vulgate 127)

Blessed is every one who fears the Lord,
who walks in his ways !
You shall eat the fruit of the labour of your hands;
you shall be happy, and it shall be well with you.

Your wife will be like a fruitful vine
within your house;
your children will be like olive shoots
around your table.
Lo, thus shall the man be blessed
who fears the Lord.

The Lord bless you from Zion !
May you see the prosperity of Jerusalem
all the days of your life !
May you see your children's children !
Peace be upon Israel.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

London

London, Lambeth Palace MS 52

London, British Library MS Additional 20, 009

London, British Library MS Additional 29, 434

Manchester

Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 27911 (Mun. A. 2. 166)

Oxford

Oxford, Bodleian MS 578

Books

Beadle, R. and P. King, eds., *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1984)

Block, K. S. ed., *Ludus Coventriae or The Plaie called Corpus Christi: Cotton MS Vespasian D. VIII, EETS ES 120* (London : Oxford University Press, 1922)

Brandl, A. and O. Zippel, eds., *Middle English Literature (Mittelenglische Sprach - und Literaturproben)*, Second edition (New York : Chelsea Publishing Co., 1947)

Cawley, A. C., *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays* (London : Dent, 1956; reprint 1974)

D' Evelyn, C., ed., *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, The Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series no. VI (Boston : D.C. Heath and Company, [n.d.])

Delaney, S., trans., *A Legend of Holy Women: Osbern Bokenham's Legends of Holy Women*, Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture (Notre Dame and London : University of Notre Dame Press, 1992)

Elliott, J. K., ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993)

Epiphanius the Monk, 'Εὐλοῆσον, Δεσποτα, Λογος, PG 120, 185 - 216

Francis, W. N., ed., *The Book of Vices and Virtues : A Fourteenth century English Translation of the Somme Le Roi of Lorens d' Orleans*, EETS OS 217 (London : Oxford University Press, 1942)

Happé, P., ed., *English Mystery Plays: A Selection* (London : Penguin, 1975, reprint 1979)

Henry, A., ed., *The Mirour of Man's Saluacion: A Middle English translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis. A critical edition of the fifteenth-century*

- manuscript illustrated from *Der Spiegel der menschen Behältnis Speyer : Drach, c. 1475* (Aldershot : Scholar Press, 1986)
- Horrall, S. M., ed., *The Lyf of Oure Lady: The Middle English translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie ed. from MS St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, E. 1.1.* (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1985)
- Horstmann, C., ed., *Altenglische Legenden: Neue Folge* (Heilbronn : Henniger, 1881)
- Horstmann, C., ed., *Yorkshire Writers : Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers* (London : Swan Sonnenschein, 1895)
- Hrotsvith(a) of Gandersheim, *Historiae Intactae Dei Genetricis*, PL 137, 1062 - 1080
- James, M. R., ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1924)
- Konrath, M., ed., *The Poems of William of Shoreham: Part I. Preface, Introduction, Text and Notes*, EETS ES 86 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1902)
- Lauritis, J. A. et al, *A critical edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady*, Duquesne Studies, Philological Series, 2 (Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 1961)
- Louis, C., ed., *The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle: An Edition of Tanner MS 407*, Garland Medieval Texts, No. 1 (New York and London : Garland Publishing, 1980), 414 - 427
- MaCauley, G. C. ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower: The French Works* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1899)
- Mancel, MM. G. and G. S. Trebutien, eds., *L'Établissement de la Fête de la Conception Notre Dame dire La Fête aux Normands par Wace, Trouvère Anglo-Normand du XIIe siècle* (Caen : Publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1842)
- Meredith, P., ed., *The Mary Play from the N.town Manuscript* (London and New York : Longmans, 1987)
- Morris, R., ed., *Cursor Mundi. (The cursor of the World). A Northumbrian poem of the fifteenth century in four versions*, EETS OS 57, 99, 101 (volume I) and 59, 62 (volume 2) (London : Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1874 - 93)
- Parker, R. E. ed., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne*, EETS OS 174 (London : Oxford University Press, 1928)
- Paschal the Roman, *Sermo de Vita Sanctissimæ Deiparæ*, PL 120, 185 - 216
- Peltier, A. C. ed., *S.R.E. Cardinalis Bonaventura Opera Omnia, volume XII* (Paris : [n.p.], 1868)
- Pickering, O. S., ed., *The South English Nativity of Mary and Christ edited from MS BM Stowe 949*, Middle English Texts I (Heidelberg : Carl Winter. Universitätsverlag, 1975)
- Reichl, K., 'Ein Mittelenglisches Marienleben aus der Hs. Add. 4122 der University Library in Cambridge', *Anglia*, 95 (1977), 313 - 378

- Ryan, W. Granger, trans., *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, two volumes, volume II (Princeton, N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Sargent, M. ed., *Nicholas Love's Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ: A critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686*, *Garland Medieval Texts*, 18 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992)
- Schade, O., ed., *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione Beatae Mariae Virginis et de Pueritia et Adolescentia Salvatoris* (Königsberg : Regimonti Typis Academicis Dalkowskianis, 1870)
- Serjeantson, M., ed., *Legendys of Hooly Wummen by Osbern of Bokenham*, EETS OS 206 (London : Oxford University Press, 1938)
- Spector, S., ed., *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D. 8. Vol. II. Commentary and Appendices*, EETS SS 12 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Stevens, M. and A. C. Cawley, *The Towneley Plays, Volume I: Introduction and Text*, EETS SS 14 (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Tischendorf, C., ed., *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Avenarius et Mendessolin, 1853)
- Turnbull, W. B. D. D., ed., *Legendae Catholicae: A Lytle Boke of Seyntlie Gestes* (Edinburgh : Advocates Library, 1840)
- Vögtlin, A., *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart CLXXX (Tübingen : Bibliothek de Literarischen Vereins, 1888)
- Wright, T., ed., *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, EETS OS 33 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1868, revised edition, 1906)

Secondary Sources

- A Catholic Dictionary of Theology*, volume 3 (London : Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1971)
- Ackroyd, P. R. and C. F. Evan, *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 1 : From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1970)
- Alexander, J. and P. Binski, eds., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200 - 1400* (London : The Royal Academy, 1987)
- Amt, E., ed., *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (London : Routledge, 1993)
- Anderson, B. S. and J. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, two volumes, volume I (London : Penguin, 1990)

- Armstrong, N. and Leonard Tennenhouse, eds., *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays in Literature and the History of Sexuality* (London and New York : Methuen, 1987)
- Ashley, K., 'Medieval Courtesy Literature and dramatic mirrors of female conduct', in Armstrong and Tennenhouse, 27 - 38
- Ashley, K., 'Image and Ideology : Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative', in Ashley and Sheingorn, 111 - 130
- Ashley, K. and P. Sheingorn, eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols : Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens and London : The University of Georgia Press, 1990)
- Assmann, B., ed., *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* reprint [of the edition published at Kassel, 1849] with a supplementary introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1954)
- Aston, M., *Lollards and Reformers : Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London : Hambledon Press, 1984)
- Atkinson, C., *The Oldest Vocation : Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Attwater, D., *A Dictionary of Mary* (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1957)
- Backhouse, J., *The Bedford Hours* (London : The British Library, 1990)
- Balic, C., 'The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception', in E. D. O' Connor, 161 - 212
- Barratt, A., ed., *Women's Writing in Middle English* (London and New York : Longman, 1992)
- Barron, C. M. and A. F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows 1300 - 1500* (London & Rio Grande, Ohio : Hambledon Press, 1994)
- Bartlett, A. Clarke, *Male Authors, Female Readers : Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Bateson, M., ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge : University Press, 1898)
- Baugh, A. C., 'Osbert of Clare, The Sarum Breviary and the Middle English Saint Anne in Rime Royal', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 106 - 113
- Beadle, R. and R. McKitterick, comp., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, Volume 5. Manuscripts. Part i : Medieval* (Woodbridge : D. S. Brewer, 1992)
- Bell, D. N., ed., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. 3. The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* (London : The British Library in association with The British Academy, 1992)
- Bennett, J. M., 'The tie that binds : peasant marriage and families in late medieval England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XV : I (Summer, 1984), 111 - 129
- Bennett, J. M., 'Medievalism and Feminism', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 309 - 331

- Bériou, N. and D. D'Avray, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto : Centro Italiano de Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994)
- Bishop, E., *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918, reprint 1962)
- Blake, N. F., *Middle English Religious Prose* (London : Arnold, 1972)
- Blamires, A., ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1992)
- Blanton-Whetshall, V., 'Witnesses of Good Repute : Dower Politics and Isabella Ufford's Vow of Chastity', Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997 (unpublished paper)
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, R., *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarian Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1990)
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, R. and T. Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 1991)
- Blunt, J. H., ed., *The Myroure of Oure Ladye containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service with a translation of the Offices used by the Sisters of the Brigittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, EETS ES 19 (London : N. Trübner, 1873)
- Boswell, J., *The Marriage of Likeness: Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (London : HarperCollins Publishers, 1995, reprint Fontana Press with amendments, 1996)
- Bouman, C. A., 'The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy', in E. D. O' Connor, 113 - 160
- Bovon, F., 'The Synoptic Gospels and the Non-Canonical Acts of the Apostles', *Harvard Theological Review*, 81 : 1 (January, 1988), 19 - 36
- Bradley, S. A. J., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: An Anthology of Old English poems in prose translation with introduction and headnotes* (London, Melbourne and New York : Dent, 1982)
- Brandeis, A., ed., *Jacob's Well. Part I: An English treatise on the cleansing of Man's Conscience*, EETS OS 115 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900)
- Brandenburg, T., 'St. Anne and her Family. The veneration of St Anne in connection with concepts of marriage and the family in the early-modern period', in Dresen-Coenders, 101 - 128
- Brandenburg, T., 'Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother and her Children', in Mulder-Bakker, 31 - 68
- Brewer, D., *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist 2 : A Handlist of manuscripts containing Middle English Prose* (Cambridge : Brewer, 1985)
- Brooke, C., *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* (London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971)

- Brooke, C., *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Brown, P., *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1988)
- Brundage, J., *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1987)
- Brundage, J., *Medieval Canon Law* (London and New York : Longman, 1995)
- Brundage, J., 'Widows and Remarriage : Moral Conflicts and Their Resolution in Classical Canon Law', in Sheridan Walker, 1-16
- Bullough, V. L. and J. Brundage, eds., *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, N. Y. : Prometheus Books, 1982)
- Bynum, C. Walker, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York : Zone Books, 1991)
- Cadden, J., *Meaning of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Cambridge University Library, *Early English Printed Books 1475 - 1640. Volume I. Caxton to F. Kingston. Notes by Charles Edward Sayle* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1900)
- Camille, M., 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200 - 1400', in Alexander and Binski, 33 - 40
- Carmi Parsons, J., ed., *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud : Alan Sutton, 1994)
- Carmi Parsons, J. and B. Wheeler, eds., *Medieval Mothering* (New York and London : Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996)
- Carroll, M. P., *The Cult of the Virgin Mary: Psychological Origins* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1986)
- Carruthers, M., *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990, reprint, 1996)
- Cartlidge, N., *Medieval Marriage : Literary Approaches, 1000 - 1300* (Cambridge : D. S. Brewer, 1997)
- Casagrande, D., ed., *Enchiridion Marianum Biblicum Patristicum* (Rome, 1974)
- Clayton, M., 'Feasts of the Virgin in the Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), 209 - 233
- Clayton, M., 'Aelfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', *Anglia*, 104 (1986), 286 - 315
- Clayton, M., *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo Saxon England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066 - 1307* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979)
- Cohen, E. and E. Horowitz, 'In search of the Sacred : Jews, Christians and Rituals of Marriage in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 225 - 249

- Coleman, J., *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 26 (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Colker, M., *Trinity College, Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts, Volume II* (Aldershot : published for Trinity College Library, Dublin by Scholar, 1991)
- Coletti, T., 'Purity and Danger : The Paradox of Mary's Body and the Engendering of the Infancy Narratives in the English Mystery Cycles', in Lomperis and Stanbury, 65 - 95
- Cook, A. S., 'A Remote Analogue to the Miracle Play', *JEGP*, 4 (1902), 421 - 51
- Cosgrove, A., 'Consent, consummation and indissolubility : some evidence from medieval ecclesiastical courts', *Downside Review*, 109 (1991), 94 - 104
- Cowen, P., *A Guide to Stained Glass in England* (London : Joseph, 1985)
- Crewe, S., *Stained Glass in England c. 1180 - 1540* (London : HMSO, 1987)
- Cross, J. E., 'The use of patristic homilies in the *Old English Martyrology*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 107 - 128
- Cross, J. E., ed., *Cambridge Pembroke College MS 25 : A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers*, Kings College, London, Medieval Series I (London : Kings College, 1987)
- Dickinson, J. C., *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1956)
- Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, volume 9 (Paris : Letouzey et Ané, 1926)
- Donahue, Jr., C., 'Female Plaintiffs in Marriage Cases in the Court of York in the Later Middle Ages : What Can We Learn from the Number ?', in Sheridan Walker, 166 - 183
- Dresen-Coenders, L., ed., *Saints and she-devils: Images of women in the 15th and 16th centuries* (London : The Rubicon Press, 1987)
- Duby, G., *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth Century France*, translated by Elborg Foster (London : John Hopkins University Press, 1978)
- Duffy, E., 'Holy maydens, Holy Wyfes : The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century England', *Studies in Church History*, XXVII (1990), 175 - 196
- Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580* (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1992)
- Dumville, D. N., *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England. Four Studies* (Woodbridge : Boydell Press, 1992)
- Dutschke, C. W., *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library. Volume I* (San Marino, California : The Huntington Library, 1989)
- Elliott, D., *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1993)

- Endepols, H. J. E., *Vijf Geestelijke toneelspelen der middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam : Bibliotheek der Nederlandse letteren, 1940)
- Erbe, T., ed., *Mirk's Festial : a Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk), Part I*, EETS 96 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1905)
- Evans, R. and L. Johnson, eds., *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wyf of Bath and all her Sect* (London : Routledge, 1994)
- Ferrante, J., *To the Glory of Her Sex : Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington, Indiana : Indiana University Press, 1997)
- Fisher, S. and J. Halley, eds., *Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings: Essays in Feminist Contextual Criticism* (Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1989)
- Föster, M., 'Die Legende vom Trinubium der hl. Anna', *Probleme Der Englischen Sprache und Kultur. Festschrift Johannes Hoops* (Heidelberg : Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925)
- Foucault, M., *The History of Sexuality : Volume 1, An Introduction, Volume 2, The Uses of Pleasure, Volume 3, The Care of the Self*, translated by R. Hurley (Middlesex : Penguin, 1990)
- Fowler, D., *The Bible in Early English Literature*, volume I (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1976)
- Fowler, D., *The Bible in Middle English Literature*, volume II (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1984)
- Fowler, R., ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, EETS 266 (London : Oxford University Press, 1972)
- Freeman Sandler, L., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 4. Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1285 - 1385. The catalogue* (London : Harvey Miller, 1986)
- Furnivall, F.J., ed., *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*, EETS OS 119 (Washington DC : Microcard Editions, 1964)
- Furnivall, F. J., ed., *The Babees Book*, EETS OS 32 (London : Trübner, 1868)
- Furnivall, F. J., ed., *Church of England Province of Canterbury Prerogative Courts: The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London 1387*, EETS OS 78 (London : Trübner and Company, 1882)
- Garde, J. N., 'Christ I (164 - 195a) : The Mary-Joseph Dialogue in Medieval Christian Perspective', *Neophilologus*, 74 (1990), 122 - 130
- Gibson, G. McMurray, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1989)
- Gibson, G. McMurray, 'Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed : Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans', in Ashley and Sheingorn, 95 - 110
- Gibson, G. McMurray, 'Blessing from Sun and Moon : Churching as Women's Theatre', in Hanawalt and Wallace, 139 - 154

- Gies, F. and J. Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* (New York, London, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Toronto : Harper & Row, 1978)
- Gilbert S. and S. Gubar, eds., *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Traditions in English* (New York, London : W.W. Norton & Company, 1985, second edition 1996)
- Glasser, M., 'Marriage in Medieval Hagiography', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 4 (Old Series Volume XIV) (1981), 3 - 34
- Goddard Elliott, A., *Roads to Paradise : Reading the lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, N. H.: published for Brown University Press by the University Press, 1987)
- Godden, R., ed., *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series : Text*, EETS SS 5 (London, New York, Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1979)
- Godfrey, W. H., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, volume II, Volume XLII of Sussex Records Society (1937)
- Gold, P. Schine, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-Century Ideology of Marriage', in Bullough and Brundage, 102 - 117
- Goldberg, P. J., trans. and ed., *Women in England c. 1275 - 1525. Documentary Sources* (Manchester and New York : Manchester University Press, 1995)
- Graef, H., *Mary : A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, two volumes (New York : Sheed and Ward, 1963)
- Gransden, A., ed., *The Letter-Book of William of Hoo Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds 1280 - 1294*, Suffolk Society, 5 (1963)
- Hale, R. Drage, 'Joseph as Mother : Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue', in Carmi Parsons and Wheeler, 101 - 116
- Hale, R. Drage, 'Domestic Dominion : Medieval Images of an Everyday Masculinity', Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997 (unpublished paper)
- Hallissy, M., *Clean Maids, True Wives, Steadfast Widows : Chaucer's Women and Medieval Codes of Conduct* (Westport, Connecticut and London : Greenwood Press, 1993)
- Hamand, L. A., *The Ancient Windows of Great Malvern Priory* (St. Albans : The Campfield Press, 1947, third edition Upton-On-Severn : Severnside Printers Limited, 1995)
- Hanawalt B. A. and D. Wallace, eds., *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth Century England*, Medieval Cultures 9 (Minneapolis and London : University of Minnesota Press, 1996)
- Hanawalt, B. A., 'Remarriage as an Option for Urban and Rural Widows in Late Medieval England', in Sheridan Walker, 141 - 164
- Harthan, J., *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (Milan : Amilicare Pizzi spa, 1977, reprint 1982)
- Haskell, A. S., 'The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth Century England', *Viator*, 4 (1973), 458 - 471

- Helmholz, R. H., *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1974)
- Holum, K. G., *Theodorian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London : University of California Press, 1982)
- Hritz, J. H., trans., *Saint Jerome. Dogmatic and Polemical Works, Volume 38, The Fathers of the Church* (Washington DC : Catholic University of America Press, 1965)
- Hull, S., *Chaste, silent and obedient: English Books for Women 1475 - 1640* (San Marino : Huntington Library, 1982, reprint 1989)
- Humphries, K. W., ed., *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. The Friars' Libraries* (London : The British Library in association with the British Academy, Chadwick - Healey, 1990)
- James, M. R. and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace. Part I. No. 1 - 97* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1932)
- Jewell, H., *Women in Medieval England* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1996)
- Joliffe, P. S., *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974)
- Keble, E., *St. Mary's Church, Fairford, Gloucestershire* (Much Wenlock : R.J.L. Smith & Associates, revised edition of Keble's original text, 1990)
- Kelly, H. A., *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer* (Ithaca, N. Y. : Cornell University Press, 1975)
- Ker, N. R. ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain : a List of Surviving Books* (London : The Royal Historical Society, 1941)
- Ker, N. R., ed., *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1957)
- Ker, N. R., ed., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1969)
- King, A., *Liturgies of the Past* (London : Longmans, 1959)
- Klapische-Zuber, C., ed., *A History of Women in the West. II: Silences of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London : The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992)
- Kleinberg, A., *Prophets in their Own Country : Living Saints and the making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1992)
- Klinefelter, R. A., 'The Four Daughters of God : A New Version', *JEGP*, 52 (1953), 90 - 95
- Lancashire, I., *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558, Studies in Early English Drama, I* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1984)

- Lapidge, M. and M. Herren, trans., *The Prose Works [of] Aldhelm translated [from the Latin]* (Ipswich : Brewer, 1979)
- Lapidge, M. and H. Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- Lapidge, M., ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society, CVI (London : Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991)
- Larson-Miller, L., ed., *Medieval Liturgy : A Book of Essays* (New York and London : Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997)
- Latham, R. E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources. With Supplement* (London : The British Academy by The Oxford University Press, 1965, reprint 1983)
- Le Goff, J., ed., *The Medieval World* (London : Collins & Brown, 1990)
- Leonard, J. K., 'Rites of Marriage in the Western Middle Ages', in Larson-Miller, 165 - 202
- Le Roy Ladurie, E., *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294 - 1324*, translated by B. Bray (London : Penguin, 1980)
- Lerner, G., *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness from the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1993)
- Lester, G. A., *The Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist 2. A History of manuscripts containing ME prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester* (Cambridge : Brewer, 1985)
- Lewis, R. E., ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1994)
- Limberis, V., *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the creation of Christian Constantinople* (London and New York : Routledge, 1994)
- Little Dunmow Priory: A Brief History and Guide to the Parish Church Today* ([n.p.] [n.d.])
- Littlehales, H., ed., *English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books*, EETS ES 90 (London : Trübner, 1903)
- Lomperis, L. and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)
- Madan, F., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, volume 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922)
- Mâle, E., *Religious Art in France, in the Thirteenth Century : A Study of its sources of inspiration*, translated from the third edition by D. Nussey (London, New York : Dent : Dutton, 1913)
- Marks, R., *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London : Routledge, 1993)
- Marshall, J., 'Fragments of a Culture' : The Reynes extracts and the Guild Drama of East Anglia', Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1994 (unpublished paper)

- Mayberry, N., 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in medieval and Renaissance art, literature and society', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 21 (1991), 207 - 224
- McSheffrey, S., selected, translated and introduced, *Love and Marriage in Late Medieval London* (Kalamazoo, Michigan : Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1995)
- Meale, C., ed., *Women and Literature in Britain 1150 - 1500* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1993, reprint 1996)
- Meale, C., 'Eclecticism and the fifteenth century reader : Positioning the Common Place Books of Robert Reynes and Robert Melton', Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1994 (unpublished paper)
- MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses. Fifth Edition* (London : Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996)
- Migne, J. P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus : series latina*, 221 volumes (Paris : J. P. Migne, 1844 - 66)
- Migne, J. P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus : series graeca*, 162 volumes (Paris : J. P. Migne, 1857 - 66)
- Minors, R. A. B., comp., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1963)
- Mitchell, L. E., 'To be (married) or Not to be (married) : The Politics of Widowhood in thirteenth century England', Leeds International Medieval Congress, July 1997 (unpublished paper)
- Morgan, N. J., *The medieval painted glass of Lincoln Cathedral. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain. Occasional Papers 3* (London : Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Morgan, N. J., *A Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 3. Early Gothic Manuscripts [I], 1190 - 1250* (London : Harvey Miller, 1982)
- Morgan, N. J., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles. Volume 4. Early Gothic Manuscripts [II] 1250 - 1285* (London : Harvey Miller, 1988)
- Mulder-Bakker, A. B., ed., *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, Garland Medieval Casebooks, 14 (New York and London : Garland Publishing Inc., 1995)
- New Catholic Encyclopaedia prepared by an editorial staff at the Catholic University of America*, volume XIV (Palatine, Illinois : J. Heraty, 1981, c.1967-1979)
- Newton, P. A., *The County of Oxford. A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass. Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. Great Britain, I* (London : Oxford University Press, 1979)
- Nichols, A. Eljenholm, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350 - 1544* (Woodbridge : Boydell Press, 1994)
- Ninehan, D. E. et al., *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, Theological Collections 6 (London : SPCK, 1965)

- Noonan, J., *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986)
- O' Carroll, M., *Theotokos : A Theological Encyclopaedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Wilmington, DE : Michael Glazier Inc., 1986)
- O' Connor, D., ed., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance* (Notre Dame, Indiana : University of Notre Dame Press, 1958)
- 'Ordines ad Faciendum Sponsalia,' *The Publications of the Surtees Society*, volume LXIII : Manuale et Processionale Ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, Appendix 4 (1874, published 1875)
- Owst, G. R., *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England : a neglected chapter in the history of English Letters & the English People* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1933)
- Pächt, O. and J. J. G. Alexander, eds., *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Volume 3. British and Icelandic Schools with addenda to volumes 1 and 2* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1973)
- Palmer, R. C., 'Contexts of Marriage in Medieval England : Evidence from the King's Court circa 1300', *Speculum*, 59 (1984), 42 - 67
- Pantin, W., *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century : based on the Birkbeck Lecture* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1955)
- Parker, R., *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the making of the feminine* (London : The Women's Press, 1984)
- Peacock, E., ed., *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc*, EETS OS 31 (London : Trübner, 1868)
- Pedersen, F., 'Romeo and Juliet of Stonegate' : a medieval marriage in crisis', Paper 87 (York : Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1995)
- Perry, N. and L. Echeverria, *Under the Heel of Mary* (London and New York : Routledge, 1988)
- Pevsner, N., *The Pelican History of Art. Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London : Pelican, 1970)
- Pfaff, R., *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1970)
- Pickering, O., 'The Temporale Narratives of the SEL', *Anglia*, 91 (1973), 425 - 495
- Pickering, O., 'Three South English Legendary Nativity Poems', *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series, VIII (1973), 105 - 119
- Pollock, G., *Vision and Difference: Femininity, feminism and Histories of Art* (London : Routledge, 1988, reprint, 1990)
- Poppe, E. and B. Ross, eds., *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* (Dublin : Fourcourts, 1997)

- Price, R. M., 'The distinctiveness of early Christian Sexual Ethics', in Stuart and Thatcher, 14 - 32
- Quetif, J. and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Paris : [n.p.], 1719)
- Raine, J., ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia, Publications of the Surtees Society*, 4 (Durham : Andrew and Company, 1869)
- Razi, Z., *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish : Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen 1270 - 1400* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1980)
- Reuther, R. R., ed., *Religion and Sexism : Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Tradition* (New York : Simon & Schuster, 1974)
- Reynolds, P. Lyndon, 'Marriage, Sacramental and Indissoluble : Sources of the Catholic Doctrine', *Downside Review*, 109 (1991), 105 - 150
- Reynolds, P. Lyndon , *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianisation of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden and New York : E. J. Brill, 1994)
- Riddy, F., 'Mother Knows Best : Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 66 - 86
- Robbins, R. H., 'A New Lydgate Fragment', *English Language Notes*, 5 (1968), 243 - 7
- Rogers, N., ed., *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, (Stamford : Paul Watkins, 1993)
- Ross, E. M., *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Sargent, M., ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge : Brewer, 1989)
- Scase, W., 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin : Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications', in Rogers, 81 - 96
- Schaff, P., ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan : Wm B. Eerdmans, reprint 1978)
- Schiller, G., *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst. Band 4. 2. Maria* (Gütersloh : Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980)
- Schneemelcher, W., ed., *[Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. English] Revised Edition, Volume I : Gospels and Related Writings* (Cambridge : James Clarke; Louisville, Kentucky : John Knox Press, 1991)
- Sebastian, W., 'The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception from after Scotus to the End of the Eighteenth Century', in E. D. O' Connor, 213 - 326
- Shahar, S., *The Fourth Estate : A History of Women in the Middle Ages* , trans., Chaya Galai (London : Methuen, 1983, reprint 1984)
- Sheehan, M., 'The Formation and Stability of Marriage in fourteenth century England : Evidence from an Ely Register', *Medieval Studies*, XXXIII (1971), 228 - 263

- Sheingorn, P., 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship : Gender and Family History', in Ashley and Sheingorn, 169 - 198
- Sheridan Walker, S., ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, Michigan : The University of Michigan Press, 1993)
- Simmons, F. and H. Nolloth, eds., *The Lay Folks' Catechism or Archbishop Thoresby's Instructions for the People*, EETS OS 118 (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901)
- Smith, L. and J. H. M. Taylor, eds., *Women, The Book and The Godly : Selected Proceedings of the St Hilda's Conference, 1993*, volume I (Woodbridge : D. S. Brewer, 1995)
- Smith, S., *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington and Indianapolis : Indiana University Press, 1993)
- Southern, R., 'The English Origins of the " Miracles of the Virgin"', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, IV (1958), 176 - 216
- Stallcup, S., 'Creating a Memory: Richard II's tomb at Westminster Abbey', paper given at *Memory*, The Fourth Postgraduate Conference, The University of Bristol Centre for Medieval Studies, 14 - 15 February, 1998 (unpublished paper)
- Staniland, K., *Medieval Craftsmen : Embroiderers* (London : The British Museum, 1991)
- Stevenson, J. B., 'Ascent through the Heavens, from Egypt to Ireland', *Cambridge Celtic Medieval Studies*, 5 (Summer 1983), 21 - 35
- Stevenson, J. B., 'The Holy Sinner: Mary of Egypt and her Biographers', in Poppe and Ross, 19 - 98
- Stevenson, K., *Nuptial Blessing: A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983)
- Stone, L., *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500 - 1800* (New York : Harper and Row, 1977)
- Stuart, E. and A. Thatcher, eds., *Christian Perspectives on Sexuality and Gender* (Leominster & Michigan : Gracewing & Eerdmans, 1996)
- Sullens, I., *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne* (Binghampton, N. Y. : Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, volume 14, 1983)
- Swanson, R. N., *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215 - c. 1515* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Szarmach, P. ed., *Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts* (forthcoming)
- Szövérfy, J., 'Der Grischische Liber Hymnorum und die Synaxarion', *Litteraturarissenschlichen Jahrbuch* N. F. 3 (1962), 335 - 43
- Tanner, N. P., *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370 - 1532* (Toronto : Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 66, 1984)

- Tanner, N. P., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Volume I (Nicaei - Lateran V)* (London : Sheed & Ward, Washington : Georgetown University Press, 1990)
- Tasioulas, J. A., 'Between Doctrine and Domesticity : The Portrayal of Mary in the 'N-Town' Plays', in Watt, 222 - 243
- Thesaurus Linguae Latinae : A Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, vol. VII, I, fasc. IX ' Ineber - Infirmo', (Leipzig : Teubner, 1951)
- Tischendorf, C., *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Avenarius et Medessolin, 1853, reprint Hildesheim, 1966)
- Tristram, E.W. and M. R. James, 'Wall-paintings in Croughton Church, Northamptonshire', *Archaeologia*, 76 (1926 - 7), 179 - 204
- Tubach, F. C., 'Index Exemplorum : A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales', *F.F. Communications*, volume 86, number 204 (Helsinki : Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969)
- Tymms, S., *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society series I, no. 49 (London : J. B. Nicholls and Son, 1850)
- Utley, F., *The Crooked Rib : An Anthology Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the end of the year 1568* (Columbus : Ohio State University Press, 1944)
- Walford, A., trans, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, edited by Angelo di Bernardino, translated from the Italian, in two volumes (Cambridge : James Clarke, 1991)
- Ward, B., *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000 - 1215* (London : Scholar Press, 1982, revised edition, 1987)
- Ward, B., trans., *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Prosologion* (London : Penguin, 1973, reprint 1988)
- Ward, J. C., *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London : Longman, 1992)
- Wardle, P., *The Victoria and Albert Museum Guide to English Embroidery* (London : HMSO, 1970)
- Warner, M., *Alone of All Her Sex : The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London : Weidenfield and Nicholson Ltd., 1976, reprint Pan Books Ltd., 1985)
- Warner, M., *From the Beast to the Blonde : On Fairy Tales and their Tellers* (London : Vintage, 1995)
- Warrington, J., ed., *The Paston Letters* (London, Melbourne and Toronto : Dent, 1024, reprint 1978)
- Waterton, E., *Pietas Mariana Britannica: A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Marye Mother of God* (London : St. Joseph's Catholic Library, 1879)

- Watson, A. G., ed., *N. R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain : a List of Surviving Books - supplement to the second edition* (London : Royal Historical Society, 1987)
- Watson, R., *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (V & A, L.475 - 1918)* (London : Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984)
- Watt, D., ed., *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press, 1997)
- Wayment, H., *The Stained Glass of the Church of St. Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire, The Society of Antiquaries of London. Occasional Paper (New Series) V* (London : The Society of Antiquaries, 1984)
- Weaver, F.W., ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills (Second Series) 1501 - 1530 with some Somerset Wills preserved at Lambeth*, Somerset Record Society, Volume 19 (London : Printed for the Subscribers only, 1903)
- Webb, D. M., 'Woman and Home : The Domestic Setting of Late Medieval Spirituality', *Studies in Church History*, XXVII (1990), 159 - 173
- Weinstein, D. and R. M. Bell, *Saints and Society : the Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000 - 1700* (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1982)
- Wells, J. and J. Severs, eds., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050 - 1500*, volumes 1 and 2 (New Haven, Connecticut : Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, volume 1, 1967, volume 2, 1970)
- Williams, M. and A. Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton : Markus Weiner Publishers, 1994)
- Wilson, K. M. and E. Makowski, *Wykked Wyves and the Woes of Marriage: Misogamous Literature from Juvenal to Chaucer* (Albany, N. Y. : State University of New York, 1990)
- Wilson, S., ed., *Saints and their Cults : Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Windeatt, B. A., trans., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (London : Penguin, 1985)
- Woolf, R., *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California : University of California Press, 1972, reprint 1980)
- Woolley, R. M., comp., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1927)
- Wright, W., ed., *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament, collected and edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Library* (London : Williams & Norgate, 1865)
- Yates, F., *The Art of Memory* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul , 1966)